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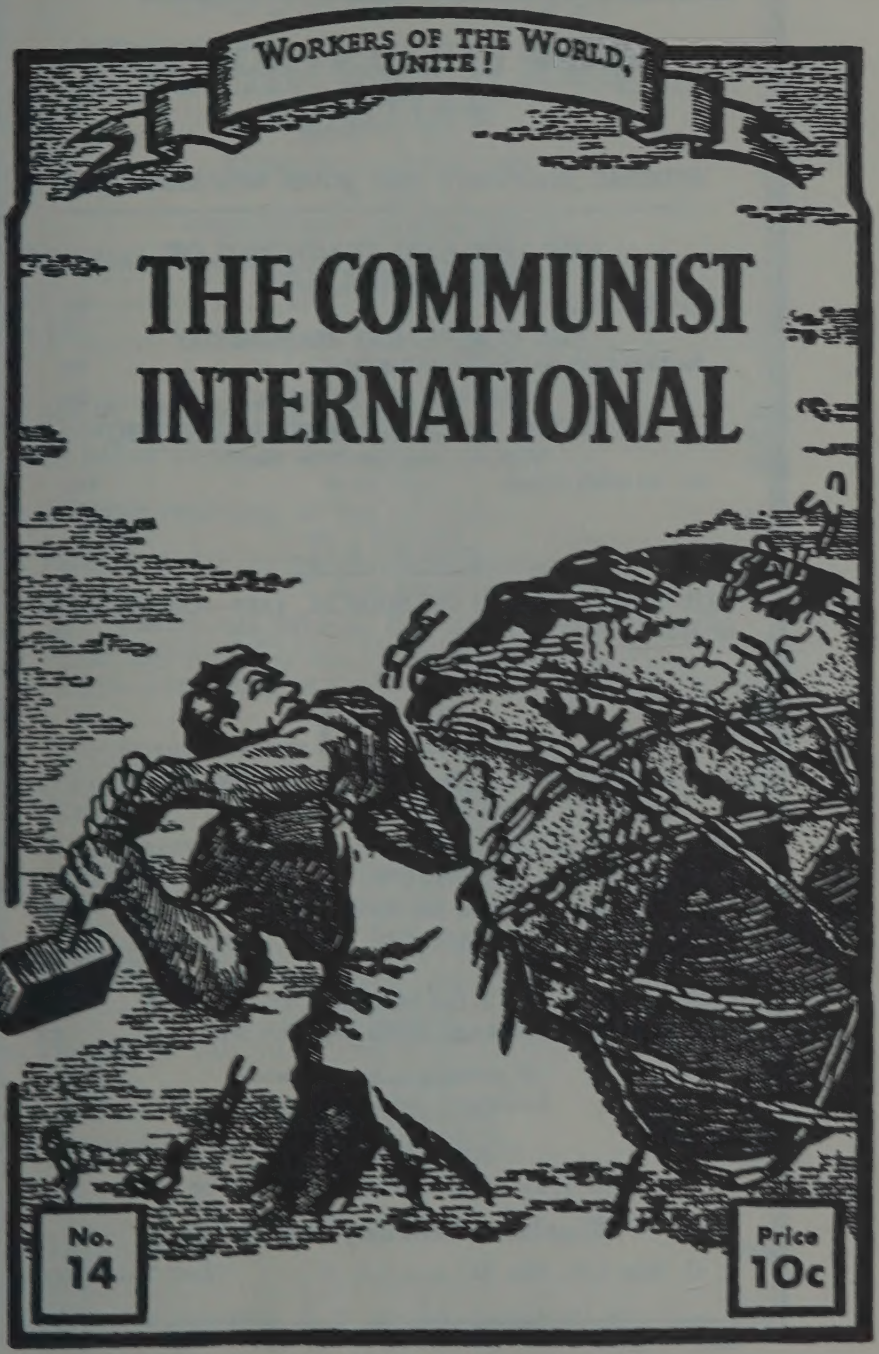

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The Eve of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International

THE Seventh World Congress of the Communist International will be of enormous significance for the whole of the International revolutionary movement.

The importance of the Congress will chiefly consist in the fact that, on the basis of an analysis of the enormous class changes that have taken place during the period that has elapsed since the Sixth World Congress, it will reveal to millions of proletarians, toilers of the East, the West, and America, the colonies and semi-colonies, the broad *revolutionary perspective* of emancipation from capitalist slavery, from the horrors of the crisis of capitalism, fascism and the impending war, the perspective of the *maturing of the revolutionry crisis of the capitalist world, the beginning of a new round of revolutions and wars.*

This perspective of the Communist International stands opposed to the perspective of poverty, slavery, annihilation and fascist barbarity, which world reaction will bring if it is successful in curbing the working class and the toilers.

This perspective of the Comintern stands opposed to the "perspective" of the Second International, of world Social-Democracy which, at the time of the Sixth Congress, taught the masses to expect the prolonged prosperity of "organized" capitalism, and is now directing the masses to base their calculations on the prolonged victory of fascism, on the renunciation of the revolutionary movement.

There is no doubt that the most important task of the Congress will be to point out *those paths* which must be taken in the situation of today, in order to ensure victory during the second round of revolutions and wars. The most important task of the Congress will be to analyze the new situation which has arisen since the Sixth Congress on the basis of accumulated experience, and on using the broadest self-criticism, to define the *new tactical tasks*, and, first and foremost, the tasks of the *united front tactics* in the struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and war, the tasks of establishing a powerful people's fighting front against fascism and war in all capitalist countries.

* * *

What is the situation in which the Seventh Congress of the Comintern will meet?

The seven years which have passed since the Sixth Congress of the Comintern have been a period of *tremendous class changes*, characterized by two opposite lines of development—the *victorious development of the U.S.S.R., and the continued decline and further decay of the capitalist world.* Precisely these years have been the years of most intense strug-

gle, *of competition between two systems*—the Socialist and the capitalist —a competition in which Socialism has come out victorious. This victory has had a deep revolutionizing effect upon the minds of millions. It is precisely this historic space of time that has clearly demonstrated, in sharper relief than before, the advantages of the new Socialist system, and the utter bankruptcy of the capitalist system.

The decisive point in the relation between the two systems during the period from the Sixth to the Seventh Congress *was the final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R.*

But the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is the victory of the proletarians of all countries. This is why we have every right to say that *the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is the second victory since the October revolution* of the international proletariat, is a tremendous change in the relation of class forces in favor of Communism. It is precisely this victory, and the growing might of the U.S.S.R., which are *the chief factors* today which intensify the shattering of the foundations of the whole of the capitalist system, the deepest cause of the more acute sharpening of the world crisis of capitalism, and which are the cornerstones of the maturing of the new revolutionary crisis.

Can there be any doubt that the successes in the U.S.S.R. increase among the broad masses of capitalist countries the will to overthrow capitalism?

> "Today", said Lenin in his speech in May, 1921, "it is our economic policy that has the most influence upon the international revolution. . . . On this arena the struggle is now taking place on a world scale. If we solve this task, we shall have won on an international scale for sure and for always." (Vol. XXVI, pp. 410-411, Russian edition.)

The leading section of the Communist International—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, headed by Comrade Stalin, the mighty leader of the proletariat and of the oppressed of all countries—*has solved* this task irrevocably, once and for all, thus predetermining the victory of the world proletarian revolution.

More and more obvious is becoming the *ever-growing influence* of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. over the fate of world capitalism and over the development of the liberation movement of the world proletariat and the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries. The conviction that it is necessary to fight for Soviet Power, to overthrow the yoke of the capitalist system, is today penetrating more and more deeply into the ranks of the broad masses, in so far as they are actually feeling the growth of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., are actually seeing how a society without classes, without oppression, without exploitation, can be built up, and how classes must be destroyed. The proletariat of the capitalist countries are aware of the advantage of the Socialist system, such as is being realized in the U.S.S.R., when they compare the deep economic crisis, the growth of unprecedented unemployment and poverty in their own countries, with the U.S.S.R., where not only is crisis un-

known, but where, on the contrary, there is a mighty wave of economic progress; where Magnitogorsk, Dneiproges, Kuzbas, etc., have been created; where tremendous tractor works, a chemical and aviation industry, etc., have been established; where unemployment has been abolished and the material position of the workers is improving from year to year. It is enough to call to mind the victory of the Five-Year Plan.

In his historic report at the joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commissoin of the C.P.S.U., in January, 1933, Comrade Stalin, speaking on the results of the First Five-Year Plan, said:

> ". . . the capitalist countries are fraught with the proletarian revolution, and precisely because they are fraught with the proletarian revolution, the bourgeoisie would have liked to find in the failure of the Five-Year Plan a fresh argument against revolution, whereas, on the other hand, the proletariat is striving to find, and indeed does find, in the successes of the Five-Year Plan a fresh argument in favor of revolution, against the bourgeoisie of the whole world.
>
> *"The successes of the Five-Year Plan mobilize the revolutionary forces of all countries against capitalism—such is the indisputable fact.*
>
> "There cannot be any doubt that the international revolutionary significance of the Five-Year Plan is really immeasurable." (J. Stalin, "The Results of the First Five-Year Plan".)

The workers also feel the advantage of the Socialist system when they see that, while fascist terror and oppression are growing throughout the world, in the U.S.S.R. a new epoch of Soviet democracy is beginning. The masses see that the U.S.S.R. is the freest country in the world, that the U.S.S.R. alone is the bulwark against world reaction. And indeed, what would be the appearance of the world today if there were no U.S.S.R., no outpost standing in opposition to fascist barbarity and violence?

And finally, while the menace of a new bloody butchery hangs over the world, the U.S.S.R. is the only country that is consistently pursuing a policy of peace, which has become the center of gravity of all peoples and all countries, the stronghold of all the toilers against the menace of war. All this taken together is having a particular influence upon the Social-Democratic, reformist workers, the more so since this influence comes at a time when the capitalist world is passing through a deep decline.

The Congress is faced with the task of again emphasizing with all its force that thought which is already penetrating deeply into the minds of the toiling masses, namely, the need to defend and strengthen the might of the U.S.S.R. Just as in time of peace, so *in time of war, the actions of every revolutionary organization must be determined by the interests of strengthening the might of the U.S.S.R. as the base of world Socialist revolution. The enemy of the U.S.S.R. is the chief enemy of all* who desire the victory of Socialism, the victory of the world proletariat.

As the Bolsheviks indicated, out of relative stabilization, there inevitably came the crisis, the end of capitalist stabilization. The hopes of the bourgeoisie and the prospects put forward by their agent, social-democracy, have been mercilessly defeated by living actualities. The world economic crisis, which began in 1929, reaching its lowest depth in 1932, shook the foundations of capitalism, threw millions of workers into poverty, and ruined the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie.

The pressure of the capitalists upon the working class and upon their wages, the increased rationalization that has been introduced, the increase in unemployment—all this has *revolutionized* the situation, has intensified the struggle of classes, and urged on the workers to new class battles. Big class battles have taken place (the Ruhr, Lodz, the strike of textile workers and miners in France, the strikes in India, etc.).

At the same time, the revolutionary movement in India, in Indo-China, in Indonesia, in the Philippines, in Africa, and other parts of the world, has sometimes taken on the form of national wars of liberation from the imperialist yoke and colonial exploitation. The most decisive factor, of course, is the beginning of the Soviet revolution in China, the formation of the Chinese Red Army, and the creation of Soviet regions. The establishment of a Soviet government on part of the territory of China is of the greatest historic importance. China, with its multi-millions, China, that has suffered so much, the China of the workers and peasants, has found in the Soviets the only power capable of freeing the toilers from their double yoke.

A new center of attraction has grown up, in the form of the Chinese Soviet People's Republic, for all colonial and semi-colonial peoples who are waging a struggle for their emancipation.

All these revolutionary processes are proof *of the sharpening of the internal contradictions of capitalism, of the rise of the revolutionary movement of the working class against the capitalist regime during the first years of the world economic crisis.*

However, on looking back, we can say that, in consequence of the treacherous role played by social-democracy, which took upon itself the task of "curing capitalism", in consequence of the influence which the reformist trade unions had over the workers, *the reformists were successful in holding back the working class during the period of the greatest sharpening of the world economic crisis from the battles which they could and should have undertaken.* The Communists had a strong influence over the movement of the unemployed. But the movement of the unemployed, precisely because of the influence of social-democracy, did not have the support of the workers engaged in industry. As a result, the movement of the unemployed also began to decline a little later.

But this is not all. In so far as the forces of the working class were weakened by social-democracy, the proletariat was not in a position to exert the necessary influence over the revolutionary movement of the peasantry. As a result, capitalism was able to improve its position somewhat at the expense of the workers, the peasants, and the peoples

of the economically weak countries and of the colonies. The world economic crisis developed into the depression of a special kind.

However, the transition of the crisis into the depression of a special kind did not mean the end of the economic crisis, and a transition towards economic boom. The development of the economic situation in 1934 showed a considerable drop in production in several of the most important capitalist countries. The new capital investments, and the restoration of basic capital, were extremely insignificant. There was apparent an obvious tendency for the depression of a special kind to be prolonged.

How did the transition from crisis to the depression affect the revolutionary working class movement?

The transition from the lowest point reached by the industrial crisis to the special kind of depression did not lead to a "depression" of the revolutionary movement, which had begun to increase during the period of the world economic crisis. It is precisely *during the period of depression* that we have the *biggest battles of the working class and toiling peasantry* since the time of the Sixth Congress (Austria, France, Spain, Poland, peasant risings in Galicia, etc.).

An especially clear manifestation of the period of sharper class battles that had arrived was the *development* of the revolution in China, the revolution in Spain, which began in 1931 and reached its highest level of development in 1934, and the revolutionary upsurge which began in America, which was the main fortress of world capitalism at the time of the Sixth Congress.

The explanation of this fact must be sought for in the following:

First, it was precisely in this period that the social contrasts between the classes were most clearly manifested, and it was precisely in this period that the toilers began to feel particularly keenly the consequences of the crisis. The bourgeoisie were able to improve their business affairs; profits increased. But, at the same time, capitalist exploitation also increased. Despite the increase in production, the permanent army of unemployed, which was two and even three times greater than the number of unemployed before the crisis, remained. The agrarian crisis continued, as did also the mass pauperization of the poor and even the middle peasants.

Second, the growth of fascism and the danger of war throughout the world, and in particular, the victory of fascism in Germany, led to a tremendous change in the minds of the rank and file of the social-democratic and reformist workers. The establishment of fascist dictatorship in Germany, which hampered the revolutionary struggle of the German proletariat, had, at the same time, *a revolutionizing influence* over the workers, not only of Germany, but of other capitalist countries, since it revealed without a shadow of doubt all that fascism brings to the toilers.

The reply to the growth of the danger of fascism was, as compared with the period of the Sixth Congress, the tremendous intensification and the urge for unity of action, the development of a united proletarian front against fascism in Germany, and in all the other capitalist

countries, and against the offensive of capital, against the menace of war.

The proletarian united front is the tactic of uniting the proletariat for joint struggle against the class enemy, that mobilizes the broad masses to resist the offensive of capital, fascism and war; it is the chief form of drawing the basic masses of the social-democratic and reformist workers over to the side of proletarian revolution. *We are still at the very beginning of a broad organization of the united front,* but already, in the majority of the Sections of the Comintern, a change can be seen. Already today, the success of the united front in France, Austria, Spain, and other countries, has brilliantly shown what can be achieved by militant workers through unity of action.

In the struggle against fascism, the proletariat is employing higher forms of struggle than those which were to be observed previously. The proletariat now does not, as in Germany, retreat before fascism without putting up a fight, but retaliates against the fascist offensive either by *armed* struggle (in Austria in February 1934, and Spain in October 1934), or by using the weapon of the *general political strike* (February 1934 in France). And if the heroic armed struggle of the Spanish and Austrian proletariat did not lead to victory, it was because social-democracy had the support of the majority of the working class when the battles took place.

The experiences of Austria and Spain have shown the workers of all countries that there can be no victory over the bourgeoisie without making a determined break, not only with the Right wing, but also with "Left" social-democracy, without the working class rallying to the leadership of the Communist Party.

Third, the bankruptcy of the two largest parties of the Second International—the German and Austrian social-democracy, which began the crisis within the Second International—weakened the retarding role which social-democracy plays in regard to the working class. Considerable sections of the social-democratic workers, many of the lower social-democratic organizations, have entered the struggle in spite of the resistance of their leaders. Under the pressure brought to bear upon them by the masses, the reformist trade unions are more and more frequently compelled to go into strike action.

And finally, *fourth,* the most decisive factor determining the sharpening of class battles was the final, irrevocable victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. As a result of this, the U.S.S.R. has become the decisive factor which helps to mature the idea of storming capitalism in the minds of the masses of western Europe, America, the Orient, the colonies and semi-colonies.

Thus, the higher level to which the masses *are becoming revolutionized* under the conditions of the deepening decline of capitalism and the end of capitalist stabilization on the one hand, and the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. on the other, led to the situation where *the general crisis of capitalism is entering a period of sharp conflicts between the internal and external contradictions of imperialism, a period*

of a new revolutionary crisis in the capitalist world. This is what is new in the characterization of the international political situation.

That is why Comrade Stalin, in his speech at the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, declared:

> "This means that a revolutionary crisis is maturing and will continue to mature. And the more the bourgeoisie becomes entangled in its war combinations, the more frequently it resorts to terroristic methods in the struggle against the working class and the toiling peasantry, the sooner will the revolutionary crisis mature."

The proletariat is more and more taking the road of revolution. But, while the proletariat more and more seeks to find a way out of poverty and oppression along the road of revolution, the bourgeoisie, on their part, are more and more seeking to find a way out of their situation along the road of *fascism and war.*

* * *

During the period between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses of the Communist International, fascism has won victories in several countries (Germany, Austria and others).

Fascism is becoming more and more the chief form in which the bourgeoisie bring about their class domination.

> "Fascism," said Comrade Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., "has now become the most fashionable commodity among bellicose bourgeois politicians." (Stalin, "Report to Seventeenth Congress of C.P.S.U.", *Socialism Victorious,* p. 12.)

The haste with which the bourgeoisie are developing fascism in all the capitalist countries only goes to show that they are already unable to rule by the old methods of bourgeois democracy.

> "In this connection, the victory of fascism in Germany must be regarded not only as a symptom of the weakness of the working class and as a result of the betrayal of the working class by social-democracy, which paved the way for fascism; it must also be regarded as a symptom of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, as a symptom of the fact that the bourgeoisie is already unable to rule by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, and, as a consequence, is compelled in its home policy to resort to terroristic methods of administration—it must be taken as a symptom of the fact that it is no longer able to find a way out of the present situation on the basis of a peaceful foreign policy, as a consequence of which it is compelled to resort to a policy of war." (*Ibid,* p. 12.)

The bourgeoisie are trying (and they have been successful in several countries) to defeat the proletariat (if only temporarily) *before the masses take the determined turn to revolution.* Fascism has been successful in this, above all, because social-democracy paved the way for fascism.

By introducing terror into the political system, by depriving the workers of all forms of independent organization, fascism aims at leaving the working class without leaders, at depriving it of its leadership by demolishing the vanguard of the proletariat—the Communist Party—at dividing the forces of the proletariat. However, the experience of Germany shows clearly that *fascism is incapable of eradicating Communism, that the Communist Party is alive and is spreading its influence.* In the deepest underground conditions, under the constant blows of fascism, a *new* Bolshevik generation of the Communist Party of Germany has grown up, and the finest cadres of professional revolutionaries are being trained.

Influenced by the lessons of defeat, the consciousness of the masses of workers that it is necessary to turn to methods of revolutionary violence in the struggle against fascism and capitalism, that it is necessary to fight for proletarian dictatorship, for a Soviet Germany, is maturing more and more.

In addition to this, it should be noted that fascism is trying to penetrate into the ranks of the working class through a whole system of social and national demagogy, by means of terror and bribery. The fascists are making particularly big efforts (and here they really have met with some success) to dope broad sections of the population with the poison of chauvinism, nationalism, bestial hatred of the "inferior races", etc.

There is not the slightest doubt that the Congress will draw attention to the fact that, in several Sections of the Communist International (including the Communist Party of Germany), the danger of chauvinism has not been seen with sufficient clarity; the struggle against nationalism has not been adequate enough.

By demolishing the workers' organizations, *fascism temporarily strengthens the power of the bourgeoisie.* But, as experience has shown, fascism is not in a position to bring capitalism out of the crisis. The mass base of fascism is shaky, unsteady and unstable.

Fascism, which increases capitalist oppression to the utmost degree, which smashes pacifist, democratic illusions, which openly reveals the class nature of the bourgeois state, and which lets loose civil war, at the same time aids the masses to come to an understanding of the fact that emancipation can be achieved only by forcibly overthrowing capitalism. The internal and external contradictions are sharpened to the utmost under fascism. This is why we can say that fascism, in the long run, *hastens on the maturing of the revolutionary crisis throughout the whole capitalist world.*

But there is not, nor can there be, an automatic downfall of fascism. Merely the objective premises for mobilizing the masses for the overthrow of fascism and capitalism are created. This is why the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, in the second point of the agenda, will examine the problem of fascism, the methods to be adopted in the struggle against it, and, first and foremost, the problem of the united proletarian front. This question, without doubt, will be one of the central questions at the Congress.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern will examine the problem of war in its entire scope, especially as regards the question of the growing menace of an anti-Soviet war, and the tasks of the Sections of the Comintern in the struggle against war.

The growth of fascism has aggravated to the utmost the entire international situation. The Versailles Treaty, on which the post-war system of relations between the imperialist countries was built up, has now been torn to pieces by German fascism. Preparations for war are going forward at a feverish rate in *all* the capitalist countries. The Washington Naval Agreement has been torn up. Japanese imperialism has begun a new offensive on China. Preparations for war and chauvinism constitute the program of the foreign policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie of all countries. But the *chief* instigators of war today are German fascism and Japanese imperialism, dragging fascist Poland along behind them. Germany, Japan and Poland have the backing of British imperialism, which is supporting Germany, Japan and Poland in their military adventures, and especially in unleashing an anti-Soviet war.

That war has not yet broken out is due, first and foremost, to the peace policy of the U.S.S.R., to the increased power of defense of the U.S.S.R., and especially to the fact that the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. in the East and in the West are now strongly fortified.

But, within the capitalist world itself, imperialist contradictions are developing around the question as to *whether there should be war today or not.* For example, an imperialist country like France, which is satisfied with the spoils which it gained from the previous war, has no desire for war at the present moment.

The U.S.S.R. is making use of these imperialist contradictions in the interests of strengthening peace. The small, weak countries, fearing the loss of their independence in the event of war, and also imperialist countries like France, despite the class contradictions between these countries, *collaborate to some extent with the U.S.S.R.* in maintaining peace today. But the real force which makes it difficult to start war is the U.S.S.R. and the activity of the toilers of all countries.

One of the cornerstones of the power and might of the U.S.S.R. is the support given to the Soviet Union by the workers of capitalist countries.

The Communists of all capitalist countries should remember that the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. will all the more successfully promote peace, the more actively the Communist Parties mobilize the masses for the struggle against the war plans of their own bourgeoisie.

Of course, the efforts of the U.S.S.R. and of the international proletariat seriously complicate the beginning of war. But we should remember that, despite all these efforts, *war may begin any day.*

The task of the proletariat and of its vanguard—the Communist Parties—is to bar the way to war by organizing the masses for proletarian revolution. We should remember that, if the war, nevertheless, begins, it will give such a shock to all the capitalist countries as will

signify *the beginning of a revolutionary crisis in the capitalist countries.* War—

> ". . . will certainly unleash revolution and put in question the very existence of capitalism in a number of countries, as was the case in the course of the first imperialist war." (*Ibid.*)

The main task of the Sections of the Comintern is to stand at the head of the masses in the fight for peace, against the instigators of war, preparing the proletariat for the struggle to convert the imperialist war into civil war, assisting to the utmost in bringing about the defeat of their own bourgeoisie in the imperialist war, fighting with all the forces at their disposal for the victory of the Red Army.

The peace policy of the U.S.S.R., in particular the conclusion of the Franco-Soviet and Czech-Soviet agreements, and the tactics of the Communist Parties of France and Czechoslovakia, have met with the entire support of the toilers of France and Czechoslovakia. This is why the Communist Parties *increased their influence considerably* at the recent elections in France (in the Paris district), and in Czechoslovakia, which took place immediately after the conclusion of the agreements.

* * *

The seven years that have passed since the time of the Sixth Congress have been years of the further Bolshevization of the Sections of the Comintern, years in which the ranks of the Communist Parties have been strengthened. The authority and influence of the Communist International have increased. The relation of forces has changed in favor of the Comintern, and to the detriment of the Second International. This is, first and foremost, the result of the policy, the program, the strategy and tactics of the world Party of Communism.

The crisis which the Second International is experiencing today is undoubtedly deeper than during the period of the first round of wars and revolutions. Today the chief line of contradiction undermining the Second International is *the internal struggle between the reactionary leaders and the rank and file who are swinging to the Left, and are turning to the road of the proletarian united front.*

The attitude towards the united front is one of the most acute questions which is dividing the parties of the Second International; it is the testing material which determines the question as to who is turning to the Left and who is maneuvering with "Left" phrases.

Social-democracy, the main social support of the bourgeoisie, is being shattered. It would be a mistake, of course, to adopt a mechanical conception of the question of the crisis in the Second International. While, for example, in Germany and Austria, social-democracy has suffered crushing bankruptcy, in the Scandinavian countries, etc., social-democracy is still strengthening its influence. And, of course, it depends upon us, upon the activity of the Communist Parties, first and

foremost, whether we shall be able to prevent the revival of social-democracy in those countries where it has disintegrated.

Now, as never before, is the objective situation favorable for revolutionary work, for the work of the Communist Parties, to win the masses to the revolution. But only a powerful party can win the masses and prepare the revolution. This is why the Seventh Congress of the Communist International will be faced with the task of emphasizing to the utmost the role of the *Communist Parties* in winning influence among the masses, in winning over the majority of the working class, in preparing for decisive class battles.

The guiding line before all Sections of the Comintern should be the following statement of Comrade Stalin:

> "Some comrades think that as soon as a revolutionary crisis occurs the bourgeoisie must drop into a hopeless position, that its end is predetermined, that the victory of the revolution is assured, and that all they have to do is to wait for the bourgeoisie to fall, and to draw up victory resolutions. This is a profound mistake. The victory of revolution never comes by itself. It has to be prepared for and won. And only a strong proletarian revolutionary party can prepare for and win victory." (*Ibid*, p. 16.)

At the Congress, all the Sections of the Communist International will have, on the basis of the most serious self-criticism, to expose their weaknesses and thus facilitate the conditions for a successful forward advance. Most of all, we must avoid mechanical, stereotyped routine in drawing up new tasks in the sphere of tactics. Now, as never before, we must demand that every Party, that every Communist, display initiative, the ability to stand at the head of the movement, the ability to formulate the smallest economic and political demands, and to link them up *with the main slogan of the Comintern—the slogan of Soviet Power.*

When we look back today, it becomes particularly clear that, during the stage that has passed, the Sections of the Comintern have had, as well as big successes, also one decisive shortcoming, namely, *an overestimation of the spontaneity of the working class movement, and an underestimation of the organizational role of the Party.* This is the key to the solution of the question as to why our Sections have not become stronger in the reformist trade unions, why they have not sought out contacts with the social-democratic workers, why they have not made use of the wealth of opportunity which the whole situation that has arisen since the Sixth Comintern Congress has afforded them. Communists on all sides have been waiting for big successes, not as a result of stubborn work among the masses, but *directly* from the growth of unemployment, the bankruptcy of enterprises, the destruction of the social-democratic parties, etc. The most determined struggle must be declared against reliance on spontaneity, on letting things work out for themselves.

Now, as never before, ideological firmness, adherence to principle, and purity in the ranks of the Sections of the Comintern, are important.

This is why the struggle on two fronts must be waged stubbornly. The Communist Parties were victorious by carrying on an irreconcilable struggle against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism and against Right and "Left" opportunists. In order to guarantee further successes, sectarianism, the chief stumbling-block which prevents the Communist Party from penetrating into the ranks of the masses, must be eradicated, and a struggle carried on against *the chief, the Right opportunist danger*, which expresses itself in dragging at the tail of events, and adapt the struggle to the moods of the masses, in allowing the influences of social-democratic ideology to penetrate into the ranks of the masses.

* * *

Throughout the world, the revolutionary crisis is maturing. Therefore, get deeper down among the masses.

Broaden out the united front of the fighting proletariat!

Develop a powerful people's front in the struggle against fascism and war!

Set out boldly to meet the decisive conflicts between the classes for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Appeal to Unite Against the War-Makers

(Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Communist Parties of France, Great Britain, Germany, China, Japan, Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary)

To the Working Men and Women of All Countries!
To the Working Class Youth!
To All Friends of Peace and All Enemies of War!

IT is only a few weeks to the twenty-first anniversary of the outbreak of the great World War. And today the nations stand on the threshold of another war, far greater than even that war. The introduction of conscription, the militarization of youth in Hitler Germany and the unceasing provocations of German fascism threaten the world with another international massacre. The fascist rulers of the newly-armed German imperialism are more and more openly preparing for an attack on other nations, and especially for a war on the Soviet Union, hoping by a new World War to achieve a redistribution of the world. They are feverishly searching for new allies. After Japan and Poland, they are now attempting to enroll fascist Italy in the war front of fascist states. In the Baltic, Hitler's agents are intriguing to destroy the independence of the small Baltic states and to use them as a jumping-off ground in a war against the Soviets.

DANGER IN PACIFIC

The Japanese imperialists are extending their military occupation of China. In the Pacific the danger of a war is again imminent. In a few weeks Mussolini will have completed the deployment of Italian forces for a colonial war of conquest against the Ethiopian people; the sanguinary African adventure is scheduled to begin in early autumn. Thus the imperialist warmongers are steadily at work to set Europe and the world on fire.

The Soviet Union stands in the midst of a world of capitalist enemies as an iron sentinel of peace. The Socialist Soviet state, with its non-aggression pacts, with its mutual assistance agreements, with its struggle to create a system of collective security, is serving the cause of peace and the interests of the workers of all countries.

The fascist states, headed by Hitler Germany, leave no stone unturned in order to frustrate the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union. Hitler openly declares that he is opposed to the Eastern pact and the creation of a system of collective security; in this he is supported above all by the anti-Soviet section of the British ruling class. The fascists hate the Soviet Union not only because it is the home of socialism, but because it is a bulwark against fascism, a citadel of peace and a defender of all small and weak nations.

ARMS TRAFFIC GROWS

The armament race and the international traffic in arms, which this year surpass in extent those of the three preceding years, show the armament international, the hyenas of the battlefields at their bloody trade. The biggest exponents of the international armament business, the French firm of Schneider-Creuzot, the German firm of Krupp, the British firm of Vickers, the Czech firm of Skoda and others have recently concluded an international agreement in Biarritz with a view to jointly increasing their profits.

The capitalist world is loaded with combustible material; any minute can bring the outbreak of war.

On the eve of the twenty-first anniversary of the imperialist world slaughter the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of France, Great Britain, Germany, China, Japan, Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary call to working men and women of all countries: form the international united front of the proletarians of all countries for the defense of peace against the conspiracy set on foot by Hitler Germany and her allies, Japan and Poland! Support the peace policy of the Soviet Union!

Men, women, youths of the working class, to whatever party you may belong, demonstrate on August First, the anniversary of the outbreak of the World War; show your whole-hearted and unanimous determination to preserve peace and to fight against all those who set the nations against each other, who are preparing for war and attempting to unleash another international massacre.

The united action of all militant workers on a national and international scale can oppose a barrier to the national incitement of one people against another; it can obstruct the armament race of the imperialists and the preparation of an imperialist war.

URGE UNITED ACTION

United action in every capitalist country, united action inspired by proletarian internationalism, will enable the working class of the world to beat back the attack of the warmongers on the lives of the workers of all countries.

The united front of militant workers, if it is able to win all workers for the fight against war and fascism, can secure a victory for the peace policy of the Soviet Union in the capitalist countries and stop the bloody machinations of the warmongers.

The undersigned Communist Parties appeal to all Socialist Parties, to their leading bodies and all their organizations: faced with the imminent danger of another terrible massacre, make up your minds at last to join in united action with the Communist Parties against imperialist war and fascism! The Executive of the Labor and Socialist International has twice declared that it leaves it to the discretion of its sections to conclude united front agreements with the Communist Parties. The Labor and Socialist International, in a resolution of its enlarged Bureau adopted on May 6 and 7, 1933, declared:

> "We observe with satisfaction the collaboration of European democracy with the Soviet Union for the prevention of war."

> The L.S.I. further stated it was "aware of the grave dangers threatening the peace of the world". It stressed the fact that "one of the most important tasks in the struggle against war consists in mobilizing the public opinion of the whole world against the Hitler dictatorship by every means at our command."

But these important statements have sense and value only if they are followed by corresponding action. They have a practical significance for the working class only if the L.S.I. takes serious practical steps to establish a united fighting front of Socialist and Communist Parties and organizations. We Communists have already made a number of suggestions to the L.S.I. and its sections in our numerous united front proposals concerning the joint struggle against Hitler Germany and her allies, the chief warmongers.

OFFER REPEATED

Today, on the eve of the twenty-first anniversary of the outbreak of the great war, we repeat our offer of a united front. We declare that we are prepared to consult with the Socialist Parties concerning the methods, forms, time and all other problems arising in connection with joint action on the twenty-first anniversary of the outbreak of the World War.

Away with all obstacles in the way of the united action of all militant workers against imperialist war and blood-stained fascism!

Communist and Socialist workers, trade unionists in the reformist and militant unions! Men and women who have passed through the horrors of imperialist war! Mothers who are required to sacrifice your sons for cannon-fodder! Youths, who are the chosen first victims of the war! All you who hate imperialist war and want to prevent it! All who want peace!

Unite for the joint struggle against the threatening massacre, form united front committees, committees against war and fascism, prepare joint demonstrations on August First in every locality:

Against the imperialist armament race, for a system of collective security!

Against Hitler Germany and her imperialist allies, the chief warmongers!

For the defense of the independence of small nations!

Against imperialist conquests!

Against Italian fascism, for the defense of the Ethiopian people!

Against the Japanese imperialists, for the defense of China from dismemberment by the imperialist robbers!

For the preservation of peace, for the peace policy of the Soviet Union, for the defense of our Soviet fatherland!

Proletarian united front against chauvinist hatred between the nations, for proletarian internationalism, for Socialism, which alone can safeguard peace!

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN, GERMANY, CHINA, JAPAN, POLAND, ITALY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY

At the Front with the Chinese Red Army

By M. FRED

NO more than six months have passed since the time when the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China made its estimate of the actual correlation of forces which had arisen as the result of the Sixth Campaign carried through by Chiang Kai-shek, and adopted a decision to withdraw the Red Army from Kiangsi. This historic decision, and the plan of action brilliantly constructed on its basis, laid the foundation for a new situation on the fronts of the Civil War throughout China. Let us recall the main points of the plan of the Revolutionary Military Council, and let us see to what extent, in the light of subsequent operations, the plan as a whole has been carried out or is being put into practice at present.

THE FULFILLMENT OF THE PLAN TO WITHDRAW FROM KIANGSI

1. *The operations of the Seventh Red Corps in Fukien.* The aim of this operation was to break through the Eastern sector of the front of the Nanking Army, and by undertaking a march across Fukien, to draw part of the enemy forces away from the main front in a northeasterly direction, and thus relieve the situation of the Soviet district in Kiangsi. The direction of Fukien and thence along the borders of Chekiang and Anhwei was chosen with a view to conceal the main plans of the Red staff which had to be fulfilled in November 1934.

The Seventh Corps carried out its task splendidly. It broke through the front in Fukien, made a lightning drive in the rear of the whole front, threatened the port of Fuchow, the capital of Fukien and secured additional supplies of arms and ammunition, making it possible to arm the partisan irregulars in the vicinity of the coastal town of Funin. After the seizure of Funin, the Seventh Corps continued its drive along the borders of Fukien-Chekiang Province, absorbing the small partisan detachments which it met in its path. Obtaining an uninterrupted supply of arms and men, the Seventh Corps reached the district in the northeastern corner of Kiangsi where the Tenth Corps was completely surrounded and was carrying on a very difficult single-handed struggle against the superior forces of the enemy. The arrival of the Seventh Corps was the signal for the Tenth Corps to break through the enemy cordon. Both corps are now operating together in the province of Anhwei, drawing considerable forces of the enemy to this new section of the front.

It is true that when the enemy received fresh reinforcements, the situation of these Corps at times became difficult, especially when the air forces from the nearest airdromes in Hanchow and Nanking began to participate daily in the operations against them. In view of the difficulties that had arisen, the Seventh and Tenth Corps began once more to operate separately, at the same time dividing their forces into smaller

detachments, carrying on guerrilla tactics and operating mainly at night time.

The legendary hero, Comrade Fang Chi-ming, commander of the Tenth Corps, fell into an ambush not long ago when reconnoitering the disposition of the enemy, and was taken prisoner. The delight of the bourgeoisie over this was extremely great. The capture of Comrade Fang Chi-ming was described by the press as a big victory over the Red Army in Anhwei. The loss of its commander was really a serious blow for the Tenth Corps, which, however, continues to fight under the command of Fang Chi-ming's wife. The division of the Red troops into small detachments in Anhwei is not the result of defeat. It is caused by the necessity to use guerrilla tactics in a situation where the enemy possesses strong and active air forces.

When the Seventh Corps began its operations in Fukien at the end of the summer of 1934, it styled itself as the *vanguard of the anti-Japanese national revolutionary army*. In its path, across the provinces of Fukien, Chekiang and Anhwei, it carried on successful propaganda, and distributed leaflets which emphasized the necessity of carrying on a struggle against Japanese imperialism, in a wide *national revolutionary front*. This idea had, and still has, powers of great attraction even for some sections of the local bourgeoisie and particularly for the peasants of the eastern provinces. One result of the activity and propaganda of the Seventh Corps was a great enlivenment of the anti-Japanese movement in the East. This movement could not fail to affect the troops of the White army. Not so long ago a regiment of the Nanking troops came over to the side of the national revolutionary army in the Wuhu district in the province of Anhwei.

2. *The gradual replacement of the Red Army Corps and divisions on the main front in Kiangsi.* The maneuver of the Seventh Corps in separating itself from the main forces made it easier to carry out a difficult operation lasting for weeks and months, in which the regular regiments and divisions of the First, Third, Fifth, Eighth and Ninth Red Army Corps had to be withdrawn one after another from the fighting line. In proportion as these corps were withdrawn from the front and concentrated in the depths of the Soviet district, partisan detachments of local Red Guards and Young Guards newly formed in the rear were brought up to the fighting line in their place. The process of changing the units took place without haste and without any considerable interference from the enemy. The intentions of the Red Army Staff were successfully concealed. A political campaign for the recruiting of volunteers for the Red Army and the irregular detachments, begun in May 1934, produced a large influx of new troops. By August the training of over 60,000 new volunteers had been completed.

At the same time, the organs of the Soviet Government and of the Party and Y.C.L. organizations were replaced by new bodies adapted to the conditions of illegality and to the prolongation of guerrilla struggle after the withdrawal of the troops and organizations, according to the plan. Underground Party Committees, revolutionary committees, local and district guerrilla commanding staffs were formed, and they immediately proceeded to carry out the new tasks entrusted to them. Work-

shops for the repair of arms were built in inaccessible mountain regions and secret stores of food, munitions and war supplies were accumulated. Every section of the underground system received instructions. Plans of action for the irregular troops were worked out in each district staff over the whole of the Soviet region. These plans were coordinated with the operations of the irregulars in the outer regions in the rear of the enemy.

The high degree of class consciousness, the faith in the advisability of all the measures undertaken under the direct leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the iron unity, first and foremost in the ranks of the Party organizations itself, the close connections of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government with the toiling population—all this made panic, confusion or despair impossible in the various sections of the Party and the apparatus which, according to the plan, had to remain in the district. Furthermore, the population as a whole showed their complete understanding of the measures calculated to secure the withdrawal of the regular troops of the Red Army from strategic encirclement. By November, 1934, preparations were completed. The Red Army, gathered into a striking force in the fortified struggle between the towns of Singko, Yutu and Ningtu, stood ready to carry out any order for further operations issued by the Revolutionary Military Council. When the enemy discovered that the Red Army forces had been concentrated, they were chary of increasing their pressure in the direction of the fortified camp of the Red Army.

3. *The dispatch of vanguard forces to the west. The operation of the Sixth, Second and Third Corps of the Red Army.* To the southwest of Kiangsi, on the Hunan-Kiangsi border, there was a district where the Sixth Army Corps operated independently under the command of Comrade Siao-ko. The forces of the Honan governor, Ho-chian, supported by three of Chang Kai-shek's divisions, operated against it. After the Revolutionary Military Council had sent the Seventh Corps into Fukien, it ordered Comrade Siao-ko to break through the front of the enemy and march in a northwesterly direction across the province of Hunan, to join the Second Corps under the command of Comrade Ho-lung. Comrade Ho-lung was to move to meet it from the northwestern corner of Hunan in order to assist the operations of the Sixth Corps. To prevent the Sixth Corps being followed up by three of Chang Kai-shek's divisions, the Red Army staff gave the Third Army Corps, under the command of the very talented leader Comrade Peng Te-hwei, the task of forcing the passage of the River Kan and occupying the district abandoned by the Sixth Corps. The enemy, who was trying to prevent the operations of the Sixth Corps, came under the fire of the Third Corps of Peng Te-hwei, and was defeated. The Sixth Corps then continued its march to meet the Second Corps in northwest Hunan, while the Third Corps remained on the western shore of the River Kan as a western outpost covering the contemplated advance of the main army across the river.

The moment had arrived when the intentions of the Red Army staff could no longer remain unknown to the staff of Chang Kai-shek's forces. Thinking that the main Red forces intended to follow the path just

traversed by the Sixth Army Corps, Chang Kai-shek hastened to send reinforcements into Hunan with orders to clear the population out of the six counties lying in the path probably to be taken by the main forces of the Red Army, to destroy all food supplies in these six counties, to take up positions on the flank along the route, and to wait until the entire Red Army had been drawn deeply into the deserted counties. It should also be remembered that these six counties of Hunan form a plateau on which it is difficult to hide from enemy airplanes.

4. *The withdrawal westwards of the main forces of the Red Army from Kiangsi.* The cunning plan concocted by Chang Kai-shek to entice the Red Army into a trap did not succeed. The main forces of the Red Army did not cross the River Kan in their movement to the west. At the beginning of November, they dealt a lightning blow at the left flank of the Cantonese Army, annihilating three divisions and moving southwards through Sinfeng, from whence they turned westwards into the province of Kwangsi, circumventing the bare plateau and the Hunan troops. Thus the role of the Third Army Corps changed from being a vanguard force into a side detachment guarding the flanking march and maneuver of the main forces. When the last column of the main forces had passed, the Third Army Corps began its own march along parallel roads, keeping at a distance behind the columns of the main forces. Once more the role of the Third Army Corps changed into that of a rearguard detachment. Thus it was that the Red Army entered the province of Kwangsi. Chang Kai-shek's army, advancing from the Province of Fukien in the east, occupied Juikin, the former capital of the Soviet District, only two weeks later. The irregular troops remaining in Kiangsi successfully held back the advance of the enemy. An organized pursuit of the Red Army was made impossible.

Meanwhile the main forces and the Third Red Army Corps crushed all opposition in their path in Kwangsi. According to the plan, all the columns kept their direction towards the Province of Kweichow, the southeastern border of which they crossed in an organized fashion at the end of December, 1934.

In all these phases of the fulfillment of the main plan, the Red Army never failed to defeat the enemy forces which it met on the way, while at the last stage, in the province of Kweichow, the provincial troops were almost completely wiped out or disarmed by the Red Army. When the army left Kiangsi, there were about 50,000 armed and 30,000 unarmed men in its ranks. When it arrived in Kweichow, it had 80,000 fully armed men.

The extremely difficult task of withdrawing from the fight under the very eyes of an enemy, which outnumbered it tenfold and in addition had an air fleet of 300 planes, was splendidly fulfilled by the Red Army. The march maneuver over a total distance of 1,500 kilometers was completed at the River Wukiang, which flows through the province of Kweichow. On this border, at the end of January, 1935, the Red Army once more deployed its forces on a wide front, and commenced to carry out the task for which the retreat from Kiangsi and the movement to the west had been undertaken.

THE RED ARMY DEPLOYS ON A NEW FRONT

1. *The conditions and the correlation of forces in the west.* What were the general results of Chang Kai-shek's sixth campaign? Nanking lost at least 100,000 men in the fighting in Kiangsi and Fukien in 1933-34, and spent over half a billion Chinese dollars. And the result was only that the Red Army, without loss of strength, was dislodged from its base in Kiangsi.

At the end of 1934, the bourgeois press hastened to laud the talents of Chang Kai-shek and hold celebrations for the "victor". The "victor" himself realized that the seizure of Kiangsi was not a victory but the beginning of big difficulties for Nanking. With the Red Army evacuating Kiangsi, the situation did not change to the benefit of Chang Kai-shek. For the Red Army obtained freedom of action and initiative in its maneuvers, while Chang Kai-shek's army got stuck strategically in a quagmire, from which it cannot extricate itself without losing the last semblance of victory. Kiangsi, with its hostile population and 30,000 active irregular Red fighters, has to be "pacified" by means of an army at least as big as the one which operated in the Sixth Campaign. Big forces cannot be set aside to follow up the Red Army that has moved westward. The concentration of Nanking forces, attained in the course of 1934 in the southeastern corner of China, can also not be weakened for another reason, namely, because otherwise the Canton group, which has the support of British imperialism and the benevolent neutrality of the United States might begin open warfare against Nanking. The Canton group, which included the militarists of Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Kweichow, had dressed itself up in the robes of warriors for the national interests of the Chinese bourgeoisie against the preponderance of the influence of Japanese imperialism over Nanking. Equilibrium can only be maintained and an open attack on Nanking by Canton can only be prevented if Nanking maintains strong forces in Fukien and Kiangsi. A special agent of Japanese imperialism, the notorious Doihara, undertook the mission of helping Chang Kai-shek to get out of his difficulties. A couple of months ago Doihara came to Canton and Hongkong to negotiate with Hu Han-ming and other leaders of the southwestern group. Doihara's main objective was to secure a certain amount of freedom of action for the Nanking army outside of Kiangsi and Fukien, *i.e.*, to assist Chang Kai-shek in the organization of a new front in the west of China against the Red Army.

As long as the Red Army, on its way from Kiangsi, struck in turn at the provincial troops of Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Kweichow, the southwestern coalition could still consider the advisability of making peace with Nanking. But later, when the Red Army swung to the north, in the direction of Szechwan, the circumstances in the southwest changed sharply. Canton was no longer prepared to allow Chang Kai-shek to send half a dozen of his divisions, together with the provincial forces of the Hunan governor, Ho Chien, from Hunan to Kweichow. If Chang Kai-shek's influence were to spread to the province of Kweichow this would not only mean that Nanking would bring under its control part of the armed forces in the southwestern coalition. It faces the Canton

coalition with the perspective that Nanking would constitute an additional threat on its left flank, primarily in the province of Kwangsi. The southwestern coalition could only permit this if it intended in general to abandon any further struggle against Chang Kai-shek. But Canton has no intention of surrendering its positions without a fight. British interests in the south of China will not permit this.

Chang Kai-shek has succeeded in withdrawing only ten to fifteen divisions out of Kiangsi. The main body of his troops has been compelled as hitherto to remain in Kiangsi and Fukien to carry on the struggle against the Red irregulars, to remain in Chekiang and Anhwei to carry on the struggle against the Seventh and Tenth Red Army Corps, and to garrison the valley of the Yangtse-kiang, where the presence of these troops is necessary to enable Nanking to maintain its role and obtain its share of the fiscal revenues which are under the control of the imperialists. The imperialist game between Japan, England and the U.S.A. is by no means finished in the valley of the Yangtse-kiang. Chang Hsue-liang has gathered together and reorganized the remnants of his former army in northern China and has grown into an impressive force. With the support of Great Britain and the U.S.A. this force could under certain conditions be thrown against Chang Kai-shek, *i.e.*, against Japan.

It is not surprising that Chang Hsue-liang did not let himself be persuaded when Chang Kai-shek asked him to send a few divisions into Szechwan, to help the Szechwan governor Lu Siang, who had been defeated by the Red Army. Eventually, Chang Kai-shek himself was forced to come to the aid of Lu Siang. He was compelled to transfer part of the forces he had ready at hand, about six divisions, into Szechwan. Under the cover of the Yangtse naval forces of the imperialists, these divisions were stationed in groups along the river from Ichang to Chunking. Relying on them, Chang Kai-shek reorganized the remnants of the demoralized provincial army of Szechwan, and brought it under the control of a staff appointed by Nanking to "help" the Szechwan militarists. As far as they were concerned, when they accepted the aid of Chang Kai-shek, it meant that they came under the control of Nanking and lost the income from local taxation. The Szechwan militarists, large and small, are therefore, by no means pleased at the arrival of Chang Kai-shek in Szechwan. Gripped as in a vice from two sides—by the Red Army and by the spread of Chang Kai-shek's influence westwards—some of these militarists, particularly those who have received the main blows of the Red Army, have been compelled to seek temporary salvation by making a truce with the Red Army. There is no other way out for them. They have the choice either of being inevitably wiped out, or of surrendering their power to the nominees of Chang Kai-shek. It is with such a situation in Szechwan, that Chang Kai-shek is being drawn westward with part of his forces. He is going there unwillingly, with the knowledge that the unsolved problems of the southeast and the unstable situation to the east of Hankow intensify the unfavorable situation created by the march of the Red Army westwards. The more Chang Kai-shek is being involved in the fight against the Red Army in the west,

THE MARCH OF THE CHINESE RED ARMY FROM KIANGSI AND THE POSITION ON THE FRONTS ON MARCH 15, 1935
– GUERILLA WARFARE DISTRICTS.
– BASE OF THE GUERILLA DISTRICTS WHERE SOVIET POWER HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED.
IMPORTANT SOVIET DISTRICTS.
THE DIRECTION OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE RED CORPS FROM THE END OF 1934 TO MARCH, 1935.
KANSU
SINKIANG
TIBET
SIKANG
SZECHWAN
SHENSI
HONAN
HUPEH
ANHWEI
KIANGSI
CHEKING
FUKIEN
FOOCHOW
FORMOSA
HUNAN
KWANGSI
KWANGTUNG
YUNNAN
SIAM
TONGKING
INDIA
CHENGTU
SHENSI SOVIET REPUBLIC
SHENSI SOVIET AREA
HUNAN SOVIET AREA
SOUTHERN BASE
CHANGE OF ATTACK TOWARD KANSU

THE POSITION OF THE CHINESE RED ARMY AS OF APRIL 20, 1935
GUERILLA WARFARE DISTRICTS.
BASE OF THE GUERILLA DISTRICTS WHERE SOVIET POWER WAS FIRST ESTABLISHED.
IMPORTANT SOVIET DISTRICTS.
CONCENTRATION OF THE RED ARMY AND THE DIRECTION OF ITS ATTACK.
CHEKIANG
FUKIEN
FORMOSA
ANHWEI
KIANGSI
HONAN
HUPEH
HUNAN
KWANGTUNG
SHENSI
SHENSI
NEW SOVIET TERRITORY
HUNAN
KWANGSI
SZECHWAN
KANSU
YUNNAN
TONGKING
SIAM
SINKIANG
TIBET
SIKANG
INDIA

the worse is bound to become the situation for him in the rest of China.

Compelled to march westward with weak forces, Chang Kai-shek is counting on the help of Japanese imperialism which has taken on itself the role of guarantor of the interests of Chang Kai-shek in the southeast and the estuary of the Yangtse Kiang. But Japanese imperialism, of course, does not give such "services" free of charge. Chang Kai-shek is completely subordinating himself and his army as the power of the Japanese General Staff. The unfortunate German military advisors have already been dismissed and have departed for home. Their place has now been taken by advisors from Tokyo. Tokyo has also the final say on the question of financing further warfare against the Chinese Soviets. Chang Kai-shek has been forced to turn down the conditions on which Cadogan, the British Ambassador, offered him a loan on behalf of a syndicate of British and American bankers. If London or New York now want to render financial "aid" to Nanking, they must negotiate not with Nanking but with Tokyo.

In order to be able to operate in the west, Chang Kai-shek was forced to capitulate completely to Japanese imperialism.

In Kweichow and Szechwan, Chang Kai-shek could try to balance the situation by rapid and determined action in February, 1935, so long as the Red Army had not yet consolidated itself in its new vantage ground, so long as it was still developing its position after a long and difficult march, so long as it had not yet reached the point where it could cross the Yangtse Kiang in southern Szechwan. Chang Kai-shek required rapidity of action for the additional reason that he wished to get ahead of the forces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi which had been set in motion, to prevent them from consolidating themselves in Kweichow. Chang Kai-shek does not wish to see troops of the southwestern coalition in Kweichow, because they would strengthen the position of the group hostile to him on the western flank and might draw the Hunan forces into the camp of his opponents.

As far as Chang Kai-shek's army is concerned, rapidity of action means that it abandons the tactics which it pursued in the Sixth Campaign. Chang Kai-shek is resolved to chance his fortune in open country fighting, giving up the breathing space necessary to regroup his forces and organize a new campaign (let us call to mind that after the Fifth Campaign, Chang Kai-shek spent at least six months preparing for the next one, the Sixth Campaign).

2. *Chang Kai-shek's plan for the new operations in the west.* Withdrawing all the troops that the situation in the east permits, Chang Kai-shek threw twelve divisions to the west in two groups. The first group of divisions had orders to keep the Red Army of Szechwan at a distance away from the river along the entire line covered by Ichang-Chunking-Luchow, and to prevent the southern group of the Red Army crossing to the northern shore. The orders of the second group of divisions were to get to the rear of the southern group of the Red Army in Kweichow, and in conjunction with the troops of Hunan, Kweichow and Yunnan to drive the Red Army northward, where the river crossings are closed.

Whereas the first group had also to introduce order among the

demoralized forces of the Szechwan militarists, an operation which required time, the Kweichow group had to be thrown into battle directly from the march, the more so as the vanguard of the Red Army were already approaching the crossings. Chang Kai-shek flew in an airplane to Kweiyang, the capital of Kweichow, to take direct command over this shock group.

To ease the work of the first group, which was at first to keep to defensive tactics, Chang Kai-shek sent a group under the command of General Hu-Tzu-nan, his trusted puppet in the northwest of China, from Kansu into Szechwan, with orders to attack the Szechwan Red Army on the northern and western borders of the Soviet District. The unexpectedness of this arrival of Hu-Tzu-nan in Szechwan, would, in Chang Kai-shek's plan, prevent the Red Army of Szechwan from sending part of its forces to meet the southern group at the river crossings and from helping the operation of forcing the passage of the river. Another task which Hu Tzu-nan was to carry out was to reinforce the garrison of Changtu, the capital of Szechwan, because the reliable defense of the Changtu district could not be organized by Lu Siang's staff in Changking. Besides this a garrison of Hu Tzu-nan in the capital of Szechwan could be a good trump card in the hands of Chang Kai-shek, enabling the influence of Nanking to spread to the west of China.

Such, in its general features, was the plan hurriedly drawn up by Chang Kai-shek for the operations in March and April against the Red Army in Szechwan and Kweichow.

It should be stated that the forced transfer of Hu Tzu-nan's army of 50,000 men from Kiangsu to Szechwan upset some plans previously adopted according to which it was intended that this army should act as a special military and political factor. We refer to the plan for the "conquest of Sinkiang" which it had intended to carry out in the near future with the full blessing both of British and Japanese imperialism.

3. *How the Red Army upset Chang Kai-shek's plans in March and April*, 1935. The first move was the march towards the river crossings in which direction the Red Army on the one hand and the troops of Chang Kai-shek and the Szechwan militarists on the other hand, were hastening, though with intentions the reverse of each other. On the whole this move in February, 1935, was won not by the Red Army but by the army of Chang Kai-shek. This took place because Hu Tzu-nan struck from the rear and forced the Szechwan Red Army to refrain from assiting the southern group in its fight for the river crossings.

The second move was the operations of the Red Army in the southern theater of war. The southern group, which had arrived at the river and had begun to transfer its vanguard to the northern shore on the line between Chunking and Luchow, found itself faced with strong enemy forces.

The Red commanders had to give up the idea of forcing a passage across the river at this point. The Red columns moved further on to the west. At a point to the west of Luchow and Suichow the passage to the northern shore was successfully accomplished. At the moment, however, when the Red Army was being transferred to the northern shore, the direct danger from the rear, from the three Yunnan divisions, began to be felt more and more.

This danger had to be liquidated rapidly, before the arrival of Chang Kai-shek from Hunan. This was done. The Yunnan troops were defeated and driven out of the northern part of Yunnan. The retreating enemy was pursued as far as the town of Chaotung.

Meanwhile, Chang Kai-shek's vanguard under the command of Hsue Yue arrived at the shores of the Wukiang River and began to menace the Soviet towns of Tsunyi, Meitan and Suiyan. The Third Red Army Corps had to return to the south to put the vanguard of Chang Kai-shek's troops out of action. This was done, too. In the course of March and April the Third Army Corps not only routed the vanguard but also the main forces which Chang Kai-shek had brought from Hunan into Kweichow. In a series of brilliant operations, Comrade Peng Te-hwei, the commander of the Third Army Corps, defeated the whole group personally commanded by Chang Kai-shek at the approaches to Kweiyang. At first the vanguard led by Hsue Yue was driven back from Tsunyi and Meitan to the River Wukiang, then a battle developed at Sifeng, as a result of which the defeated divisions of Chang Kai-shek began to retreat to Kweiyang. The commander of the Third Army Corps sent part of his corps on a flanking movement to Pingyun and Kweiting and by this maneuver cut off Chang Kai-shek's retreat into Hunan. By a further drive to Lungli Comrade Peng Te-hwei compelled Chang Kai-shek and the fragments of his defeated six divisions to take refuge inside the walls of the city of Kweiyang. Twenty airplanes, including Chang Kai-shek's private plane, were destroyed near Kweiyang.

The political and strategic significance of the battle of Kweiyang is tremendous. This is so, because the Red Army, after leaving Kiangsi, once more came into direct conflict with the troops of Chang Kai-shek, and defeated them, though they outnumbered the Red Army Corps by three or four times. The aviation at the disposal of Chang Kai-shek's forces was unable to prevent their shameful defeat.

This fact will arouse a great echo throughout China. It will be of decisive importance in determining the position of the southwestern group, especially when Chang Kai-shek sees his line of retreat to Hunan cut off, and appeals for aid to Li Chung-jen, the lord of Kwangsi, the same Li Chung-jen whom Chang Kai-shek had threatened with repression a few weeks previously if the Kwangsi troops were to enter to the territory of Kweichow.

The last news from the Kweiyang front indicates that part of the Red forces have swung to the southwest and have occupied the towns of Chungming, Kwangshung, and Changshai, situated far in the rear of the fragments of Chang Kai-shek's army group that remained (unbroken) at Kweiyang. This maneuver may be explained by the effort to isolate Chang Kai-shek in Kweiyang, from the receipt of possible assistance from Yunnan (near the town of Chungming the Red troops have seized the automobile road connecting the capital of Yunnan with Kwaiyang).

Thus the second stage of Chang Kai-shek's plan ended in his meeting ith a tremendous defeat. He not only failed to prevent the Red Army

from crossing into Szechwan, but a single Red Army Corps was sufficient to defeat all Chang Kai-shek's forces in Kweichow in open country operations, and to extend the influence of the Soviets over two-thirds of this province.

While the Third Army Corps was operating in Kweichow, the other corps of the southern group of the Red Army were able to consolidate themselves firmly in the valley of the Yangtse-kiang on the section to the west of Luchow. The big town of Suichow became the base from whence the Red troops spread to the north, to the proletarian districts of Tsu-liutsing and Kiating, organizing new proletarian fighting units, arming and training them. The 30,000 rifles captured during March and April in the fighting at Kweichow and Yunnan constituted an excellent May Day present for the young Red Guard regiments in Suichow, Tsu-liutsing and Kiating.

As the result of the operations of the southern group of the Red Army in Kweichow, Yunnan and at the river crossings, its further advance in the direction of Chengtu cannot meet with any serious resistance from the enemy.

When the battle takes place within the next few days around Chengtu, the White garrison and the troops around the Szechwan capital will be in approximately the same situation as Chang Kai-shek's group was in at Kweiyang, the capital of Kweichow. In this case, the duration of the battle, its intensity and final outcome, will depend on two factor: first, the influx of new enemy forces from the district of Chungking, where the main concentration of the Szechwan and Nanking troops is to be found; second, on the degree and extent to which contacts are established and maintained between the two chief groups of the Red Army—the group of Comrade Hsu Siang-kiang marching from the northeast and the group of Comrade Chu-teh which is approaching Chengtu from the south.

The third move—the operations of the Red Army in the north. We have already mentioned the role which Chang Kai-shek intended should be played by the army commanded by Hu Tzu-nan. Let us examine how the Red Army in Szechwan liquidated this danger.

When troops under Hu Tzu-nan reached the Soviet borders at the town of Chaohwa in the west at the beginning of March, 1935, and when the danger became pressing on the northern border of the Soviet district in Shensi, Comrade Hsu Siang-kiang, the commander of the Red Army in Szechwan, was forced to bring back the group which had been sent to undertake an offensive in the south, at the crossings of the River Yangtse-kiang. Comrade Hsu Siang-kiang had quickly to resolve the undertaking of counter-operations against Hu Tzu-nan. He sent part of his forces on a forced march into Shensi through Pingkiang and Fengsiang to attack the left flank of Hu Tzu-nan, and prepared the other part for battle in the vicinity of the town of Chaohwa. Before two weeks had passed, the main forces of Hu Tzu-nan had been routed in a series of battles. Followed up by the Red Army, the defeated remnants of Hu Tzu-nan's troops retreated to the province of Kansu. Revolts began to break out in the rear of the retreating general. The peasants in revolt and the Red Army, joined by the 25th and 28th

Red Divisions which had arrived from Shensi, polished off the remnants of these crack troops on which Chang Kai-shek had based such great hopes. Furthermore the appearance of the Red Army in Shensi and Kansu aroused a big movement among the peasants in the districts along the whole of the border between these provinces. The movement took the form of a whole series of peasant revolts and risings, and of the formation of detachments of irregular troops, among which mostly cavalry units are being organized. Thus the victory over Hu Tzu-nan's army is of far greater significance than any victory over a casual opponent. Not only has the direct threat to the northwestern border of the Szechwan district been removed, but this district has received tremendous prospects for spreading further in the direction of Shensi and Kansu, where the local irregular troops have already formed various centers of the Soviet power. After this big victory achieved in March 1935, Comrade Hsu Siang-kiang was again able to swing part of his troops, a detachment of some 50,000 men, to the southwest, in the general direction of Chengtu. According to the latest information these 50,000 men of the Szechwan Red Army hurled themselves against the army group of General Den Hsi-how, who was covering the approaches to the capital. Faced with the sad example of his brother-in-arms, Hu Tzu-nan, and being isolated in the district of Chengtu, General Den Hsi-how abandoned further resistance and signed a peace treaty.

The episode with General Den Hsi-how is a fine example of how the Red commanders are utilizing the situation at the front and securing striking successes not only by fighting but by pure maneuvering and the threat of battle. Such successes are only possible where the Red Army strikes well-considered blows at these groups of the enemy on which the whole White front rests. After defeating the irreconcilables, the Red Army comes to terms with the remainder, harnessing them to the general anti-imperialist people's revolutionary front on definite conditions which it dictates.

Thanks to these wonderfully rapid and far-seeing operations, the Red vanguard troops which had advanced along the front, Lokiang-Chunkiang, were already at a distance of one day's march from the capital, Chengtu, on April 16.

The fulfillment of the plan for uniting the southern group of army corps with the Red Army of Szechwan is a very great achievement. It was carried out thanks to a series of mutually connected integral operations and to the splendid victories of the Red Army in March and April 1935.

BIG BATTLE PENDING AROUND CHENGTU, THE CAPITAL OF SZECHWAN*
(Brief Summary of Operations in May 1935)

The operations of the Third Army Corps near Kweiyang, supported also by part of the First Army Corps under the command of Comrade Ling Piao, culminated in the latter striking a blow at the Yunnan troops coming to the help of Chang Kai-shek in Kweichow. The group under the command of Comrade Ling Piao routed these troops of Lung Yung,

*The present article having been written at the end of April, the author considers it necessary to add the following brief outline of the military events, according to information received at the end of May, 1935.

governor of Yunnan, and chased them to Kungming, the capital of the province of Yunnan. Comrade Ling Piao caused a great panic by his arrival before the provincial capital, not only among the Yunnan bourgeoisie but also among the rulers of Indo-China, Burma, Siam, the Punjab, India, among the British and French imperialists. The railway from Indo-China to the capital of Yunnan was cut by the Red troops at the town of Y-liang.

The Red Army, however, acting in Yunnan as it had acted somewhat previously near Kweiyang, was not aiming at a decisive operation, as the result of which the two Red Corps would have been delayed in the south and southwest for some time. The fundamental law—to be strong in the decisive place—would have been violated if decisive operations had been undertaken in the district of Chengtu with these two corps, busy in Kweichow or Yunnan, unable to take part.

For this reason, neither Kweiyang nor Kungming were besieged or stormed. The Third Army Corps turned directly to the north, and the corps led by Comrade Ling Piao marched northward through Yunnan. Here this army corps entered the territory of Szechwan once more in the region bordering on Sikang. General Liu Wen-hui, whose troops occupied this part of western China, preferred peace to war, as did Generals Den Hsi-how and Tang Sung-hiao (the latter also left the counter-revolutionary front in May) in the district of Chengtu. The number of military forces seeking alliance with the Red Army is now increasing more and more.

Chang Kai-shek arrived at Kungming after Ling Piao's troops had gone northward. The northern part of Yunnan still remains in the hands of the local Soviets which were hastily organized here. Comrade Ling Piao's troops have already united with the army led by Comrade Siu Siang-kiang, who came close to Kanting, the capital of Sikang.

Thus, the Red Army of Szechwan and the southern Red Army have already established firm contact over the whole west from Chengtu, the capital of Szechwan, to Sikang, the capital of Kanting. As for the section of the front to the east of Chengtu, Chang Kai-shek and Liu Siang are continually bringing up new troops, strengthening both the garrison of Chengtu Fort and the front outside the fortified city.

The fortress of Chengtu is surrounded by strong fortifications—a wall which is made stronger to the north, east and south by the channels of two rivers united by a canal.

Everything goes to show that the fight for Chengtu is becoming long and bitter. Only a possible "explosion from within"—a revolt of the proletariat and the whiteguard garrison in Chengtu—will speed up the process, development and outcome of the battles that are taking place in the vicinity of Chengtu between the army of Chang Kai-shek and Liu Siang, and the main forces of the Red Army gathered there.

We are unaware at present whether the approach of Chang Kai-shek's troops to Chengtu district has affected the reliability of the new allies of the Red Army from among the Szechwan militarists. It is to be expected that the Red Army will not permit any hesitations among its allies and will take stern measures to prevent any possible double dealing on their part.

The general result of the May operations and events so far is that the whole of the territory around Chengtu from the north and south, and especially from the west, is undergoing a process of rapid Sovietization, which strengthens the position of the Red Army in places near the focus of events, namely, Chengtu.

The present relationship of forces in the decisive locality of Chengtu requires that the Red forces be concentrated still further. At the same time, this means that the enemy may similarly increase the concentration of his troops. The Red Army will gain more than the enemy from delaying the decisive battles only if, in addition to consolidating and improving its positions in the camp of its allies, it uses all its political cadres free from work in the army to make the question of the building of Soviet Power in *the proletarian districts around Chengtu an urgent question and the fundamental and organizational question of the day.*

If the questions and tasks on the military front do not overshadow this important sphere of their fighting policy, namely, the consolidation of the Soviet power in the proletarian districts, then it can be confidently stated that the delay in reaching a military decision near Chengtu will be a positive and not a negative point as far as concerns the further stages of the operations of the Red Army.

RESULTS AND PROSPECTS

Is there any need now after the enormous achievements of the Red Army in Szechwan and Kweichow to prove that the decisions of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party were wise and correct? The Communist Party and its leaders made a most responsible decision in the concrete historical situation. When only the first steps of this great plan had been carried out, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was compelled to face criticism arising from two sides, namely, from those who were prone to underestimate the negative features resulting from the evacuation of the Soviet district in Kiangsi, and from those who fell into a panic and could see nothing but the retreat, after which, as they visualized it, the Chinese revolution would suffer a big setback.

Only months have passed, but they are of greater significance than years of ordinary progress of the Chinese revolution. In a brief space of time, a retreat was turned into a powerful *advance* on a wide and ever widening front, the aim of which was to make western China a powerful Soviet base. The important successes already achieved are remaking the map of China and changing the correlation of forces which had developed in the course of 1934 in the southeast and which were not in favor of the revolution. The Red Army broke the deadening wall of trench warfare on immobile fronts and opened the road to wide spaces for open-country fighting in which its operations are no longer hampered by blockhouses, trenches and barbed wire entanglements, as was the case in Kiangsi. In open country warfare the Red Army can *choose* a definite group of the enemy forces and defeat it. Relying on the enthusiasm and the active participation of the revolutionary masses of the peasants in the struggle against imperialism and its agents, the Red Army, the battering ram of the revolution, is wisely

directed by the Communist Party against the pillars of the White front. The White front, built up on the money and with the help of the imperialists, is being torn to pieces by the Red bayonets and by the whole policy of the Communist Party. Not all the groupings of the enemy forces are equally dangerous and irreconcilable to the anti-imperialist movement, to the national revolutionary war of emancipation and to the Red Army.

The Red Army is strong enough not to ask but to compel certain sections of the White front to choose between inevitable destruction and participation in the liberation of China from the power of the imperialists, feudal lords, and militarist landlords, or at any rate to maintain neutrality on definite conditions. In open country warfare against the imperialists and their direct vassals it is possible for the Red Army to bring about a united national revolutionary front and to become the center around which all the forces of national liberation gather. The danger of the situation in Kiangsi was mainly that the conditions of trench warfare restricted the possibilities of the Red Army to develop a wide national liberation front. As long as the Red Army remained in conditions of trench warfare, it would not render help and activize all the possible allies of the national revolution.

The leaders of the Communist Party were not afraid of the price, namely, territory which had to be paid for winning the initiative and freedom of action. The Chinese revolution, and with it the struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, the struggle of the international proletariat, has gained a great deal from the fact that the storm center of the revolutionary battles has been transferred to the west of China. All that the Chinese Red Army has done in the course of a few months in 1935 is but the beginning of further decisive victories. In a brief space of time the Communist Party has built up such conditions for the further growth of the Red Army and the strengthening of the Soviet system, under which *the slogan of "The Red Army—a million strong" has become one that can be carried out in practice in 1935.*

A careful examination of the map of China, and careful consideration of the meaning of the daily changing arrows which indicate the position of the Red and the White fronts, point to the conclusion that the role being played by the respective sides is gradually changing—counter-revolution is being driven to take the defensive.

The most active group of the counter-revolutionary front—Nanking and Chang Kai-shek—which is in receipt of the fullest support from imperialism, of Japanese imperialism first and foremost, is gradually losing the strength which secured it the support of the less active sections of the general counter-revolutionary front.

In proportion as the blows of the Red Army strike directly at the forces of Nanking, the general front of the internal counter-revolution must gradually break up into its component parts. In the process of this disintegration of the united front of internal counter-revolution, a wide front of national revolutionary forces will arise, directing its edge first and foremost against imperialism and its puppets.

Almost eight years ago, on August 1, 1927, Comrade Stalin gave a brilliant forecast of the three stages of the developing Chinese revolution. He said:

> "The first stage was distinguished by the fact that the edge of the revolution was mainly directed against foreign imperialism, but the characteristic feature of the second stage is the fact that the revolution is directing its edge mainly against the enemies at home, and primarily against the feudal lords, against the feudalist regime. Did the first stage carry out its task of overthrowing foreign imperialism? It did not. It handed over the fulfillment of this task as a heritage of the second stage of the Chinese revolution. It only gave the first impulse to the movement of the revolutionary masses against imperialism, only to end its course and hand this task over to the future. We must presume that the task of driving out the imperialists will not be fully carried out in the second stage of the revolution. It will give a still further impulse to the movement of the broad masses of Chinese workers and peasants against imperialism, but it will do this only to hand over the completion of this task to the next stage of the Chinese revolution, the Soviet stage." (Stalin, *Marxism and the National Colonial Question*, p. 182, Russian edition.)

These words of our wise leader were uttered at a time when the first stage of the Chinese revolution had only just ended, and when it was entering the second stage, clearsightedly foreseen by Comrade Stalin.

The Chinese revolution has now entered its third stage, the Soviet stage. In the course of events, this stage of the Chinese revolution has developed unevenly. When, in recent years, Japanese imperialism began to tear to pieces the living body of the great Chinese nation, the best forces of the vanguard of the Chinese revolution were tied down to trench warfare in one corner of China. The wide national revolutionary front directed primarily against the foreign invaders of Chinese territory was therefore left without organization. The Communist Party strove with all its power to carry out this task of organizing and leading the national revolutionary front which history had assigned to it. *To carry out this task, it was necessary first of all to bring out the Red Army to the wide expanses of open country warfare.* This has been done. A new task is now awaiting fulfillment, but it is at the same time the old task of which Comrade Stalin spoke in 1927, namely, the task of establishing a wide anti-imperialist front. The fact that the preceding stages did not solve the question of driving out the imperialists, the fact that it falls to the lot of the Soviet stage of the Chinese revolution to solve the hitherto unsolved tasks, this, as Comrade Stalin pointed out at the time, *"will only be a positive point as far as concerns the future Soviet Revolution in China"*. (My italics, M.F.) The new situation created by the Red Army in the course of a few months in 1935 makes it possible for the Communist Party and the revolutionary vanguard to utilize all these advantages for the further victorious development of the Soviet Stage of the Chinese revolution.

The Current Problems of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

By I. MINGULIN

THE Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. took place in January of this year. It lasted for almost a week and over fifty comrades took part in the discussion. The Plenum discussed and passed a resolution on current Party problems. The decisions of the Plenum lay down the line of the work of the Party for a long period of time. The work of the Plenum provides rich material for understanding the changes taking place within the working class of the U.S.A., and of the current problems of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

In its brief introduction, the Plenum resolution notes that in the U.S.A. "profound changes have taken place in the recent period", that "there is a Leftward swing of the working class and an upsurge of a mass strike movement . . . the growth of workers' organizations, especially the A. F. of L. unions, the strengthening of the desire of the masses for the united front and for a big consolidation of their ranks, the growth of sentiments in favor of a mass Labor Party". During the past period, as the resolution notes, the influence of the Party has also grown, its work has improved and its organizations have been strengthened, although the Party has not yet overcome several serious shortcomings in its work. The resolution most strongly emphasizes "the necessity of organizationally and politically strengthening the Party . . . of strengthening its independent leading role in all the struggles of the working class and all the toilers of the U.S.A." To this end—the resolution points out—"the Party must verify its work and lay down its tasks on three most important questions: the trade union question, the united front and the question of the possibility of creating a mass Labor Party". All the speeches at the Plenum were devoted chiefly to exactly these questions. Comrade Browder gave a comprehensive treatment to these questions in his report. The solution to them is clearly expressed in the resolution passed at the Plenum.

As regards the first, *the trade union question*, the resolution points out that "the main task of the Party in the sphere of trade union work should be the work in the A. F. of L.", that "the Party must take the initiative in the struggle for the unity of the trade unions", that, arising out of this, the existing revolutionary trade unions and their locals must join the A. F. of L. or its unions "wherever there exist parallel mass A. F. of L. unions, or the Red trade unions can join the A. F. of L. directly".

The resolution recommends that the Party press change its tone

towards the A. F. of L., exposing the reactionary leaders in a convincing manner, "but treating the A. F. of L. locals and unions as mass workers' organizations in which we are carrying on a struggle for winning the masses . . . and are ready to take on ourselves responsibility for their work". The resolution points out that Communists in the A. F. of L. unions should "work like real trade unionists, looking after the affairs of their union, seeing to its strengthening and widening, fighting for every elective post" and definitely warns against sectarian "limitation of the tasks of this work to the creation of a 'minority movement' or 'opposition'."

On the second question, the *united front*, the resolution pointing out the most important symptoms of growth of the desire of the masses for unity, states that "while overcoming its shortcomings in conducting the tactics of the united front, the sectarian and formal approach to the question of a united front and also opportunist mistakes, the Party must insistently continue the campaign for the united front, placing the struggle for the united front at the basis of all its mass policy". Extremely important in this connection as the resolution points out is the role which work within the A. F. of L. plays in achieving the success of the struggle for the united front. Emphasis is laid by the resolution on the immediate, actual task in the struggle for the united front, namely, the development of the united front with local organizations of the Socialist Party.

> "A most important peculiarity of the struggle against social reformism and the problem of the united front in the U.S.A.", the resolution points out, "is the fact that the development of the united front now rests primarily on the capable and energetic work of the Communists in the A. F. of L. unions . . . on the winning of positions in the A. F. of L. unions by the Communists. This can be done through winning the confidence of the membership of the A. F. of L. by exemplary participation in the current work of the union as well as in the strike movement, so that the masses of A. F. of L. members support the policy of the class struggle and look upon the Communist Party as their own Party".

Along with this the resolution, in pointing out the tasks of the Party in the fight for the united front, establishes a differentiated approach to the various groupings in the Socialist Party of America. It points out that

> ". . . in the approach to the various groupings in the S.P., the Party must direct particularly sharp and intensive fire against the Right Wing of the Socialist Party, exposing its cynically conciliatory policy towards the bourgeoisie and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, appealing to the indignation of the proletarian rank and file of the S.P. against the leaders. At the same time an extremely intensive struggle must be carried on against the middle trend represented by Thomas, the ideological leader of the Socialist Party, pointing out its capitulation to the Right Wing, its practical incapability of carrying on a policy differing

in essence from the Right Wing, strengthening the position of the Right Wing in the Party".

As for the Left current in the Socialist Party, here the resolution recommends a different approach, namely, that more explanatory work be carried on

> ". . . in relation to proletarian elements, pointing out their mistakes, inconsistency and half-heartedness, both of principles and in respect to the double nature of their position in the Party —on the one hand Left declarations, and on the other hand the Right policy of the Party as a whole for which the Left tendency bears responsibility and, in essence, carries it out in practice, at any rate, in some cases. . . . Every possible encouragement should be given to the group which supports the united front, as well as to all sincere supporters of the united front."

No less important is the decision of the Plenum on the third question, the attitude of the Communist Party to the movement for *a mass Labor Party*. The corresponding section of the resolution at its very beginning declares:

> "The political changes which have taken place among the masses demand that the Communist Party should review its attitude towards the reviving mass sentiments in favor of a Labor Party and in respect to such a Party if it should be formed on a mass scale. . . . It should declare its support for the movement for a mass Labor Party, and fight in this movement for the policy of the class struggle, resisting all attempts to bring the movement under the control of social reformism. It must ally itself with all elements that are ready to work loyally toward a similar aim."

In conclusion the resolution of the Plenum lays down the line which the Party must carry out in the struggle against the policy of Roosevelt and various currents of the bourgeoisie, pointing out the necessity of strengthening and improving agitational work of the Party and of strengthening the Party itself.

From this brief description of the chief points in the resolution it can be seen that the Plenum effectively subjected to a careful examination the tactics of the Party on the three most important questions and pointed out the changes demanded by the new situation and which were partially noted already at the Eighth Convention of the Party in 1934. In this connection it should be noted that the decisions on the question enumerated were already prepared for by virtue of the work and the development of the Party during the recent years. This refers to the trade union question in connection with which the resolution correctly points out that the reorganization of the work of the Party in the trade union field "has partially already been started". This refers also to the question of the united front, as regards which the resolution correctly point out that the Party "must insistently *continue*" the struggle for

the united front. And this refers also to the question of the Labor Party. The few months that have passed since the Plenum have shown that the decisions of the Plenum gave the Party a correct orientation for its work.

* * *

One thing alone is already significant: that all the speeches at the Plenum centered around the elucidation of the experiences of the mass work of the Party, especially work in the trade unions. To a certain degree this was at the expense of direct discussion of the resolution itself, although the experiences which comrades shared at the Plenum dealt exactly with the same questions as the resolution itself and showed that it was right. Of course, in their speeches the comrades dwelt at greater length upon the obstacles which stand in the way of the development of mass work of the Party.

Several examples go to illustrate the fact that there are extremely favorable conditions for the development of mass Party work.

This is felt most clearly in relations between members of the A. F. of L. unions and the Communists. The attitude of the members of the A. F. of L. towards the Communists has been changing in the recent period. The members of the A. F. of L. trade unions see, in actual practice, that the Communists are ordinary workers like they themselves are, that the Communists are working in the trade unions, not in order to undermine them, but in order to consolidate them and made them stronger and more effective in the struggle against the employers. Therefore, of late, the Communists have been gaining authority in trade unions and the members of the A. F. of L. unions have no desire to support the campaign carried on by the reactionary bureaucracy against Communists. It is well known how the campaign of Green against the Communists after the San Francisco strike fell through. It is well known that Green was not successful in preventing the locals of the A. F. of L. from participating in the Congress for Unemployment Insurance convened in Washington in January, 1935, by the Left organizations of the unemployed and elements in sympathy with them.

At the Plenum, a comrade, working among steel workers, told how the question of Communists was raised at a conference of his union in Pittsburgh, which took place at the end of December, 1934. One of the reactionary delegates made an attack upon the Communists because a Communist was present in the conference hall. However, as soon as the Communist showed his mandate as delegate to the conference, those participating in the conference insisted upon his remaining in the hall and taking part in the work of the conference. Moreover, the delegate from Weirton—well-known steel center, where the workers have particularly felt the bitter experience of the Roosevelt policy and employers' offensive, a delegate who has no connection with the Communists—stood up in the discussion and declared that "in Weirton, the union is in a mess, and if the Communists come to us and show a way out, we shall follow the Communists".

Another comrade, a comrade from Cleveland, reported that the num-

ber of votes cast in favor of the Communist Party in the elections to Congress in the autumn of 1934 had doubled, while 76 per cent of the votes came from five industrial centers. This is explained primarily by the fact that the mass work of the Party, and particularly the trade union work, is much improved. For example, in Akron, the center of the rubber industry, during the discussion of the Green letter calling for expulsion of Communists and other revolutionary workers from the trade unions, 25 delegates of the Central Labor Council voted against the letter. Moreover, some of the locals of the Rubber Workers' Union, hearing that their representatives had voted in favor of the Green letter, recalled them, and in one locality, as a penalty even reduced their salaries. During the textile strike, workers from one locality in New England issued under the influence of the reactionaries an ultimatum to the Communists, declaring, that if they made an appearance in their locality, they would be strung up. Now, however, these same workers have joined the Communist Party.

Proof of the favorable conditions for work among the masses is shown in the general growth of the influence of the Communist Party, the growth of Party organizations, the development of the movement for the united front, for the Labor Party and, of course, the strike movement, the increase in the circulation of the mass press and distribution of Party literature.

But the positive examples of the mass work of the Party which we have given here do not give a complete picture of the state of affairs. Quite a number of examples can still be given showing poor mass work or the absence of any mass work. These examples prompt the conclusion which the Party should take as the basic conclusion, namely, that although the Party has made considerable progress in the turn towards mass work, although it has begun to do systematic and day-by-day work among the masses, not every Party member, by far, is as yet engaged in active work among the masses, not all Party organizations by far have taken up the work energetically, by far not all the work of the Party can be accepted as satisfactory from the point of view of a correct approach to mass work.

Take the questions examined in the resolution of the January Plenum of the Central Committee.

In the United States up to now the only real mass organizations of the workers were the trade unions, and until quite recently, even these trade unions bore an extremely restricted mass character. Since 1933 the situation as regards trade union work has begun to change sharply. The workers, desiring to fight against the employers, strove to join the A. F. of L. unions. The influx into the A. F. of L. of hundreds of thousands of new workers from the basic branches of industry and big enterprises of other sections of economy, and the growing radicalization of the membership of the A. F. of L. endowed the A. F. of L. unions with a more mass, militant character, and opened up new and greater opportunities for mass revolutionary work inside these unions. The Plenum in a series of speeches showed by concrete examples that the work in the

A. F. of L. unions, which a short time ago was an important, but not the most important, branch of trade union work—moreover, work ignored by the Party—has now become the most important, the decisive section of the trade union and mass work of the Party in general, any underestimation or avoidance of which cannot on any account be tolerated in the Party.

In the trade union field the Party has won considerable influence in the steel workers' union of the A. A. Considerably less is the influence of the Party among the miners, automobile workers and the railwaymen. This applies also to the Textile Workers' Union. The Plenum of the Central Committee, as well as material to be found in the Party press following the Plenum, revealed several shortcomings in the trade union work of the Party. The Party has not yet taken up trade union work properly. In the center of the trade union work of the Party today is a campaign in the steel workers' union to organize the unorganized workers into the union (as yet, not more than 10 per cent of the workers in the steel industry are organized in trade unions), to obtain increased wages, to organize a struggle against the company unions, against the disruptive leadership of the union headed by Tighe. However, as regards this union as well, a comrade from the steel center reports that they have not as yet mobilized their Party forces to recruit workers into the trade unions, to publish and distribute trade union literature, to popularize mass meetings, etc. The insufficient mobilization of Party forces for trade union work is felt also in the fact that in an important district like Chicago, for example, only 41 per cent of the Party members are trade union members. It is also important to note that there is an absence or an insufficient amount of literature on trade union questions for distribution among the workers.

It should be particularly noted that the mass language organizations under the influence of the Party, to which a mass of workers from the basic branches of industry belong, are not mobilized for trade union work. This is the case also with the press of these organizations. For example, in the Cleveland district, in one steel center, the International Workers Order has 600-700 members, the overwhelming majority of whom work in steel enterprises. However, this organization does nothing to draw these workers into trade union work. In several localities there is not a single worker in this or any other mass organization who belongs to a trade union.

Next we must note the weakness of our Party cadres in trade unions. Comrades noted that in several cases the influence of our Party comes from outside and not directly through the work of Party members within the movement and in its leadership. Party members inside the A. F. of L. unions themselves have as yet insufficient influence over the workers, and the Left elements who have joined the trade unions recently and play a leading role in many locals, and upon whom the Party depends, are themselves as yet very poorly developed.

The fact that recently the campaign against company unions has somewhat weakened, and that opportunities for work inside of company

unions have not been made sufficient use of, must also be put down to the weaknesses of trade union work.

The fact that the trade union work of the Party has not been sufficiently reorganized is particularly clearly revealed on the question of the approach to work in the reformist trade unions, in the tendency to limit this work, to reduce it to a narrow opposition movement. as noted in the resolutions of the Plenum. This is, without doubt, the decisive question in the trade union policy of the Party. The presence of this tendency, still considerably strong, was marked by several comrades.

At the Plenum the comrades criticized most of all the tendency to get boxed up in the "opposition", correctly seeing that this tendency leads to sectarian opportunism and means the refusal to develop and reach the broad movement for struggle and organization of thousands and hundreds of thousands of workers, who today are rising up in organized struggle. To try to squeeze this movement into the framework of an "opposition" means to fail to understand, to see, the revolutionary perspective that lies before it. Alongside with this it should be noted that the overcoming of the tendency to get boxed up in an "opposition" on no account means that the Communists and other Left workers will not, in many cases, have to *begin* work to create opposition to the existing bureaucracy, there where this bureaucracy is in a strong position. But, to make that the beginning of the work in certain possible cases, and to restrict to these boundaries all this work regardless of circumstances, these are two different things. The concrete forms and stages of the work all depend upon the concrete situation. Further, the struggle against the tendency to get boxed up in an "opposition" has nothing in common with the tendency to adapt the movement to the bureaucracy. On the contrary, it means the mobilization of the broad masses against the bureaucratic control of the trade unions with a determination actually to achieve this purpose to the maximum extent possible.

Examples from the documents of the Plenum and from the Party press show also that the Plenum of the Central Committee and the Party have not closed their eyes, and will not close their eyes to the defects in their trade union work, to the fact that much has still to be done in this most important sphere.

What has the Party already achieved in the sphere of reorganizing the trade union work? It should be noted that this reorganization of the trade union work by the Party, which has only just begun to be started, is already giving considerable positive results. The Communists have shown the positive role that they can play in the work of the trade unions not only on a big scale in big demonstrations and campaigns, but in the everyday work of numerous local branches of the trade unions, and also in regard to whole trade unions. Let us take again this same steel workers' union. This union was in a bad way for a very long time, thanks to the reactionary policy of the old time bureaucrat, Tighe, and his clique. The union ceased to grow, membership fell off, local branches fell to pieces. Tighe put obstacles in the way of all efforts to carry on a struggle, or to bring fresh life into the union. The position became so

abnormal that even the A. F. of L. Convention in October, 1934, had to pass a decision on measures to be adopted to improve the position of the union. But, of course, the Executive Committee of the A. F. of L. has done nothing at all in this direction. The improvement came from a source which nobody in the union at first expected, from the local activists and the workers and Communists of the revolutionary steel workers' union, who merged into the A. F. of L. union. And so a check was put upon the decline in the membership of the union, in some localities the union even began to grow, local branches which had disappeared began to be restored, a militant strike mood began to develop in the union (not to mention that Tighe immediately raised a hue and cry, began a campaign against the active trade unionists and immediately began to pursue a policy of expulsions and splitting tactics). A comrade from Cleveland reports that in the steel centers where the movement of the rank and file members began to develop and to grow, the decline in the union membership was brought to a stop, and in some localities which had formerly been overwhelmed with pessimism and hopelessness, there is now new hope and optimism.

Such are the results in those localities where the Communists have taken up trade union work seriously and are giving this work correct leadership. They show just what Communists should show, that they are good—the best—trade unionists, the best leaders of the workers in the struggle for their everyday interests—not only good fighters, but also good politicians, good fighters who know what step to take in the struggle and when. For example, in many local branches of the steel workers' union, the rank and file slate was accepted in the elections to local committees. In certain localities district leaders of the union (Pittsburgh, Cleveland) joined, and now support the movement of the rank and file members, the Left current in the union. Moreover, many officials of the union today remember how they formerly believed in Tighe and Co. against the Communists and did not accept the advice of the latter, which advice has been fully justified by actual living experiences. In some places, members of the Party have been put forward to leading district posts.

Our comrades have made considerable contact not only with the bulk of the trade union membership, but also with the lower activists and officials. In one local the workers removed and drove out two chairmen of the local. One was a drunkard who maintained contact with a spy, and the other was a company agent. In the course of one week the workers sent delegates a number of times to the District Office of the Communist Party, asking that a certain well-known local Communist, not a steel worker, be sent to them, a comrade whom the workers proposed should join the steel workers' union in order that he might be subsequently elected as chairman of the union local. In his conclusion, the comrade who spoke at the Plenum said that the only people to whom the workers can trust their trade union today are the Communists. (It is the more impermissible, adds the speaker, that the Party does not grow in these places.)

Examples of this kind could be given also in regard to some locals in the miners' union, where the influence, both absolute and relative, of the Communists is yet insignificant. There, at a conference of forty-two local branches from one district of the union, a conference convened against the will of the leaders, one of the local leaders at the conference declared in conversation with an active Communist that he was entirely in agreement with the Communist, and added: "You chaps understand more than Lewis (the bureaucrat-leader of the A. F. of L. Miners' Union), and you ought to help us."

The workers are beginning to put forward Communists for leading positions in the unions. For example, out of nine members elected to one of the district committees of the union, three were Communists and two were Party sympathizers.

Examples of success in the trade unions can be given even in relation to the unions of the railwaymen, where the trade union work carried on by Communists was always the weakest, and where it is only now just barely being started seriously. A comrade was dismissed from work on the railway for his trade union activities. However, he had already won so much authority among the workers that not only did the local to which he belonged support the demand that he be taken back to work, but several other branches of the union as well, which locals acted in solidarity, immediately after the workers of his local appealed to them for support. The comrade was taken back to work.

The opportunities for work, as actual practice has shown, are immeasurably greater than that already done. If, for instance, one of the district leaders of the steel workers' revolutionary union, which has merged into the A. F. of L. union, was elected to the office of vice-president of the A. F. of L. local union, to which he now belongs, he was elected for his good trade union work. There is no reason why this should be an exception.

This growth of militant feeling and consciousness on the part of the masses reaches also the skilled workers today, rousing here also class solidarity among the workers, a feeling of internationalism, and is breaking down national and racial aloofness and hostility. An incident related at the Plenum by a comrade from Baltimore is characteristic in this respect. Baltimore is a Jim-Crow town, and the comrade reported that at the Sparrows Point plant, where about two thousand workers are employed, it was very significant that the skilled workers took the initiative in the struggle to recruit Negro workers into the trade union. Negro workers are now really being drawn into the trade unions.

The opportunities for mass trade union work are enormous. Let us give yet another characteristic example. In Akron, the center of the rubber industry, a school was organized, a so-called Progressive Labor School, attended by 190 workers, including officials from the local branches of the union. The leaders of the school had to go to the Labor School in Cleveland (where the Communists are working) to ask for help and guidance, advice about programs, etc. And the local Party

organization in Akron knew nothing about it at all. Moreover, the local comrades—who stood aloof from the workers—constantly complained that they have no connection with the A. F. of L., and that it was impossible to do anything. Now, of course, the work has begun to move. We have here—concludes the comrade correctly—every opportunity of working with the local officials, at the same time, of course, organizing the rank and file members from below, and developing the struggle in the locals. During the month the reorganization of trade union work was begun, said the same comrade, we have already won several important posts in the trade unions, have penetrated into these unions. Even among the railwaymen, in one large local, the rank and file slate received a majority of places in the executive committee of the trade union, and one Party member was elected chairman of the union, and another secretary.

As was to be expected, as the Left elements in the A. F. of L. unions grow stronger, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy has begun to persecute these elements with the threat of expulsion and in some cases even announced actual expulsion, as Tighe did in the steel workers' union. A movement is growing up among the rank and file membership and the lower officials of this union against the reactionary leadership of Tighe. The movement has acquired strong forces, district conferences and one national conference have been held. The struggle has not finished. On April 23, Tighe convened an official convention of the union. Only such delegates (numbering about eighty) were allowed into the convention hall who would not go against Tighe. Seventy delegates representing thirty large local branches of the union were not allowed into the convention and the local unions represented by these delegates were declared expelled from the union by Tighe. This is how Tighe helped the employers by splitting and destroying the union.

The Communists will not only fight with all their might against expulsions and splitting, but they will not allow the bureaucracy to pin the Left elements down to a policy of splitting, even when the latter have a majority supporting them. Trade union unity today is the most important slogan of the working class in the struggle against the policy of the bourgeoisie, and the working masses will put this slogan into action not only against the desires of the bureaucracy, but even if it tries to smash this unity by force.

* * *

In the struggle for the *united front*, the Party has gained several victories in the A. F. of L. trade unions as well as in the movement against war and fascism, in the movement for the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill, in the struggle for the release of the Scottsboro prisoners. However, in the struggle for a united front with the Socialist Party, the Communists have not been successful in breaking down the resistance of the leadership of the S.P. to a united front with the Communists. In other words, the Party has not been successful in winning the rank and file organizations of the Socialist Party for joint action with the Communists, or in developing the pressure upon the

leaders from below to an extent that would force the latter to change their negative policy towards the united front to a positive one or to effectively isolate them from the rank and file. The same can be said approximately about the A. F. of L. Although here the Party has been successful in winning hundreds of local branches of the A. F. of L. in support of the Workers' Bill for Unemployment Insurance (the so-called Lundeen Bill), nevertheless, it has not been successful in shaking the negative attitude of the A. F. of L. unions towards this Bill, although it already enjoys widespread popularity, so much so that about 50 members of the Congress were compelled to vote in favor of it. And one must not reduce this question merely to the reactionary attitude of the leaders of the A. F. of L. The point is that there is still not enough pressure from below, there is still not sufficient agitation among the masses, they are not sufficiently organized for the struggle nor are their organizations drawn sufficiently into the struggle.

The Plenum resolution raised the problem of the united front in the U.S.A. very clearly. The question of the united front must not be separated from questions of the trade unions and of the Labor Party. The united front is the foundation upon which the Party must base all its mass work in all spheres. The examples from work in the trade unions given above show that the Party is fighting energetically for the united front in its trade union work. The desire for united front with the Communists is growing among the masses. Unlike the situation in certain other countries, in the U.S.A. there have not yet been any big united front activities on a national scale. But the mighty strike movement of 1934, the movement for a general strike, stimulated considerably the establishment of the united front between the Communists and the non-Party and reformist workers. The same must be said as regards the struggle for the Workers' Bill for Unemployment Insurance. A big factor in the creation of the united front is the movement sponsored under the banner of the American League Against War and Fascism, which movement is also embracing very wide sections of the youth. Since the Plenum there has already been a big victory for the united front in the decision taken on the Scottsboro prisoners and the Party campaign for united May Day demonstrations which was supported by fairly wide sections of the workers in the Socialist Party and in the A. F. of L. trade unions.

If there have not yet been any big national united front activities in the U.S.A. in consequence of the refusal of the A. F. of L. leaders and of the Socialist Party leaders to participate in the united front with the Communist Party, neither has there been any breakdown in the movement for the united front. On the contrary, the movement for the united front has been exclusively from below up to now, but embracing, as it does, entire lower reformist organizations, even entire state organizations, it is systematically growing, becoming stronger and stronger, and steadily rising upward. This is an extremely important feature of the development of the united front in the U.S.A., which however, has its disadvantages as well as advantages. The advantages are that wider and wider sections of the masses are being drawn *inde-*

pendently into the united front from below. The Communist Party is as yet the only Party which leads the united front movement. The disadvantages lies in the fact that the reformist leaders reject the united front, hold it back from taking on mighty dimensions, and try to keep back hundreds of thousands and millions of organized workers from joining in the struggle for the united front. At the same time, the offensive of capital, the growth of fascism in the U.S.A., the need for the working class to act politically, imperatively demands that the united front in the U.S.A. should take on these broad dimensions. Therefore, while energetically working to create a united front from below, the Communist Party should simultaneously carry on a struggle, not formally, but sincerely, to develop the united front between different political and trade union working class and farmer organizations, including the Negro organizations, on a national scale.

The struggle for the united front in the U.S.A. is thus only beginning, is only at the very first stage.

The Party has done considerable work during the May Day demonstrations in organizing the united front between workers from the Socialist Party, the A. F. of L. and other organizations and the Communists. Despite the resistance of the central leadership of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party, the rank and file organizations in many industrial towns and localities went into the united front. In New York, about 200,000 workers came out on the streets on May Day under the banner of the united front.

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The Plenum paid considerable attention to the discussion of the question of the *Labor Party*.

The resolution correctly points out that the Party on this question was guided by the decision of the Sixth E.C.C.I. Congress. This decision reads:

> "On the question of organizing a Labor Party, the Congress resolves: that the Party concentrates its attention on the work in the trade unions, organizing the unorganized, etc., and in this way lay the basis for the practical realization of the slogan of a broad Labor Party organized from below."

With all the shortcomings in its work, particularly its trade union work, the Party has tried to realize this directive of the Congress. We have proof of this in the big growth of the Red trade unions up to 1933 and the growth of the work of the Party in the A. F. of L. trade unions since 1933, as well as in the big role which the Party has been playing in the strike movement during the period which has just passed. But at that period (1929-1934), as the resolution points out, the proposals put forward from time to time for the organization of a Labor Party could only have led to the creation of an appendage to the existing bourgeois parties. Therefore, the Communist Party correctly declared itself against these proposals. That the Party has now decided to come out in support of the movement for a Labor Party is due, apart from the changing con-

ditions in the working class movement, to the fact that in all its previous work to extend its influence over the masses and over the trade unions, the Communist Party was to a certain extent, preparing the basis for "the practical realization of the slogan of a broad Labor Party organized from below".

Of course, it is natural that the Trotskyists are performing dances and juggling with slanderous attacks upon every step which the Communists take towards the realization of the emancipation of the working class. If the Trotskyists did not occupy themselves with this counter-revolutionary work to the best of their abilities, then why should the bourgeoisie feed and clothe them through the back gate? And now the Trotskyists are jumping with joy at the alleged change in policy of the Communist Party; they are extracting quotation from here, there, and everywhere, in order to expose the "inconsistency" of the Communist Party policy. We shall not recommend that the Trotskyists study the history of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. or the decisions of the C.I. Congresses in order to convince themselves of the consistency of the policy of the Communist Party. We shall only point out that there is consistency of proletarian policy and consistency of counter-revolutionary policy. And, of course, counter-revolutionary Trotskyism can never understand the consistency of the policy of the Communist Party. It would indeed be strange if things were otherwise.

The comrades who spoke marked the fact that the decision of the Party to support the movement for the Labor Party was timely. The true basis of the vital necessity for this slogan at the present moment lies not only in the fact that wide sections of the workers are leaving the two traditionally bourgeois parties—the Democratic and the Republican. This alone would not be sufficient. What is important is that among wide sections of the workers and the toiling sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the farmers, who are not yet prepared to give direct support to the Communist Party, a sentiment is growing in favor of creating their own Labor Party, in favor of independent political action.

The comrades who spoke at the Plenum, and the Party press after the Plenum, gave several examples to show this desire on the part of the masses. This movement embraces not only non-Party masses, but also the masses in the reformist organizations—the farmer, Negro, and of course, the A. F. of L. organizations, as well as the Socialist Party and other mass organizations.

Of course, the Labor Party, under discussion, is not one and the same Labor Party in the minds not only of various political currents but of the masses themselves. In the main, two currents are to be found here, the bourgeois and the proletarian. The former is desirous of uniting different social reformist and bourgeois reformist organizations for the purpose of holding back the movement of the masses towards independent policy and militant action against monopoly capital. In this case, it is possible even that the Party will not be called a Labor Party. The second strives to break with bourgeois policy and politically to unite masses on the basis of the united front for a struggle in parliament

and outside against the offensive of big capital, fascism and war. It is characteristic, as one comrade said at the Plenum, that when the La-Follette Progressive Party was formed in 1934, a heated discussion, lasting half a day, took place at the inauguration convention concerning the name of the Party. The representatives of the trade unions proposed that it should be called a Labor Party or something of the kind. The representatives of the bourgeois elements insisted that the Party should be merely called Progressive. After the convention some of the Labor leaders declared that they did not agree with LaFollette concerning the name of the Party; they thought that the convention would create a "class party" (probably with a nebulous enough idea of what they understand to be a "class party"). It was this dissatisfaction that led to the formation, after the convention, of the Farmers' Labor League which, while supporting LaFollete at present, at the same time is striving to create a Labor Party.

Several of the comrades who spoke at the Plenum, giving local experiences to show the vital need for the Labor Party, at the same time tried to find the way to the practical realization of this slogan. On each of these concrete examples, it was clear that the success of this movement depends first and foremost upon the influence of the Party in the trade unions and in the movement for the united front (see the speeches of the comrades from Paterson, Chicago, etc.). The comrades who spoke also emphasized the importance in the movement for the Labor Party, of putting forward united workers' candidates at elections, and also of raising the question of the Labor Party in the central, local and city trade union councils.

The fact that the Communist Party has declared itself in support of the movement for the Labor Party has also affected the position and behavior of other political groups on this question. First of all, the struggle for a third party has in general increased during the past six months, including, and up to now primarily, the third party (or rather movements) of a fascist or semi-fascist type. But in direct connection with the declaration of the Communist Party there is activization of those groups which can have some relation to the creation of a Labor Party.

We shall not mention the Lovestonites who suddenly, literally at the end of 1934 (December 31), woke up with a start and hurriedly drew up and passed a big resolution in favor of the Labor Party, extremely muddled, indefinite, and in which there was only one thing definite: that these renegades, should anything happen, would support the reformist bureaucracy against the masses of workers and the Communist Party.

What is more important is that the Socialist Party, which up to now limited itself to one bare slogan in favor of a Labor Party, is now conducting a broad political campaign for the creation, together with the A. F. of L., of a Labor Party. This is primarily the case with the Right wing of the Socialist Party which is increasing its activities, is negotiating more and more with the leadership of the A. F. of L., is carrying on a violent campaign against the united front with the Communists, and in general is trying to become the chief barrier—first and

foremost in the trade unions—in the way of creating a united front and revolutionizing the masses of the workers.

The Party should pay the most serious attention to this activization of the Right Wing of the Socialist Party, and should carry on a broad ideological struggle against it. There are signs that the leaders of the A. F. of L. may change their negative attitude toward the question of the Labor Party, and will possibly meet the leaders of the Right Wing of the Socialist Party halfway. Not so long ago, Green produced his program of ten points called the "Bill of Workers' Rights". The eighth point of this program calls for the development of a national political labor movement. This formula, of course, is somewhat broad, it can contain very much, but that is not the point. The point is that Green has come out with the slogan of a "national political" movement of the workers, which may mean support to the formation of a Labor Party.

Thus, the Party was in time with its support of the slogan for the Labor Party. It is now merely a question of seeing to it that this policy is skillfully and actively pursued, remembering that it is a question of an extremely broad, heterogeneous movement which cannot be "pure", "genuine", but which can and should be a *mass* movement which will raise the political consciousness of the masses on the experiences of the struggle and with the help of its advanced elements and first and foremost, of course, of the Communists.

* * *

The Plenum also paid considerable attention to the question of Party *agitation and propaganda*. Comrade Bittelman's exhaustive and comprehensive report raised these questions in all actuality. It remains only to hope that the Party will continue to occupy itself still more carefully with questions for the improvement of its agitation and propaganda work and to intensify this work. It is an extremely responsible task to talk to the millions, and a whole system of serious measures are required in order to make the agitation and propaganda of the Party rise to the level of the requirements of the millions. The Plenum also dealt with organizational questions. This was extremely timely. In the sphere of Party organization, it is enough to point to two facts: First, the fact that there is still a very great fluctuation in the membership of the Party, in consequence of which all the work of the Party suffers from a considerable degree of instability. The other concerns the *Daily Worker*. The circulation of the paper for a considerable time remained at almost the same level, or has increased very little. This does not mean that in recent years the Party has not grown or strengthened itself. No, during the last two years, the Party has doubled its membership, which already reaches 30,000 today. It is the same with the *Daily Worker*, the daily circulation of which is 50,000 and on Saturdays 60-70,000. But this growth is not yet sufficiently stable, neither does it give that necessary steadiness which enables systematic, confident, rapid movement ahead.

During the recent years the Party, as we noted, has more than doubled its membership, the Party is becoming a mass Party. Over one-half of the composition of the Party is formed of new elements.

Tremendous changes are taking place in the country and within the working class; the class struggle is sharpening, fascism is growing, the policy of Roosevelt is still further complicating the position of the bourgeoisie, simultaneously stimulating increased class solidarity in the working class. Under these circumstances of growing revolutionary struggle and of a big revolutionary perspective, it is essential that the most important instrument of struggle of the working class—the Party —should work better and better. Questions of Party organization should be raised in all their importance: the struggle against fluctuation of the Party membership, as the most important link in the work of improving the entire work of the Party; educational work in the Party and among the masses; the training and selection of Party cadres, overcoming the fluctuation here also; enlarging the circulation of the *Daily Worker* to a truly mass circulation, improving the newspaper, distribution of hundreds of thousands of copies of Party literature— these are some of the questions that must be raised.

The January Plenum of the Central Committee is a historic landmark in the development of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. into a mass Communist Party—this is how the comrades raised the question. This must be proved in actual practice by the practical work of the Party and of the thousands of individual Communists.

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Since this article was written, the Plenum of the Central Committee took place on May 25-27 to discuss the questions of the building of the Party and the organization of the united front. This shows that the Party is tackling the immediate problems put before it by the developing events and by the development of the Party itself. Unfortunately, we have not yet received the materials of the Plenum so that we cannot make any definite and concrete statements in this connection. We will, therefore, add one or two brief notes in connection with the events in the U.S.A. that have taken place since the article was written.

The decision of the Supreme Court and the end of the N.R.A. mean that Roosevelt's policy has partly done its work, but was unable to get the country out of the crisis. In this sense it proved to be altogether without foundation and became bankrupt. The class contradictions in the country have intensified and there is enormous discontent among the masses. On the face of the growing process of radicalization, the bourgeoisie are looking for a way out through fascization and fascism. The bourgeoisie are increasing their political reaction at a time when the two parties of the bourgeoisie (Hoover and Roosevelt) have made a fiasco, when the class organizations of the proletariat are still weak, when the class contradictions are sharpening, when the masses are still hesitating at the parting of the ways, when the ground is favorable for the development of all kinds of bourgeois political demagogy and primarily for fascism. The soil has been loosened for fascism in the U.S.A. and the fascist danger is great. Not only Long, Coughlin, Hearst and other semi-fascist and fascist leaders are showing increasing activity, but the old "respectable" organizations of finance capital, like the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A., the

Manufacturers' and Bankers' Associations, are showing every sign of increasing political reaction, of fascization and the danger of fascism.

Under such circumstances, the C.P.U.S.A., the only revolutionary Party of the proletariat and of the toiling masses, is faced with the question of organizing and rallying together all the forces of the working class, the toiling farmers, the toiling masses of the towns, for the struggle against fascism. This struggle against fascism has its practical aim to prevent fascism from coming to power, to defeat it, and to ensure the victory over fascism of the masses of the people led by the proletariat. This is a great historic task which is put by life before the C.P.U.S.A. The conditions exist for fighting to carry out this task.

A most important condition for the achievement of this aim is that the radicalization of the masses is tremendous in the U.S.A. and that it applies to all strata of the people—workers, farmers, petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, Negroes. That this is the case is seen from the everyday political and economic demands that are assuming such enormous political sharpness—such questions as social insurance, wages, hours, recognition of unions, annulment of farmers' debts, Negroes' rights, the veterans' and soldiers' bonus, saving the petty bourgeoisie from bankruptcy, protection of town dwellers against high prices, unemployment, etc. The discussion of these questions in Congress takes place under pressure and rouses a wide and keen echo in the big mass movements of the country. Fascism makes wide use of these conditions for its political anti-people's work.

In order to prevent the growth of fascism and to defeat it, it is necessary that the proletariat, as the best organized class of toilers, and the Communist Party as its vanguard, must step forward as the defender of the needs of all the toilers, standing at the helm of their struggle against monopolies, trusts and banks, against fascism, against war, and for the immediate granting of all their demands, both political and economic.

A wide united front of the proletariat at the helm of the broad masses of people will stand like an unconquerable power against political reaction, fascism and war, and will force the bourgeoisie to satisfy the demands of the masses of people, smashing the "sacred rights" of the trusts, monopolies and bankers to rob the people.

The Party must raise this question decisively. It is a vital question for the fate of the development of the 120,000,000 people in a country which has reached the summit of wealth, technique and industry, and, in spite of which, millions are seeking alms, suffering from want, unemployment, oppression. The Labor Party, for the formation of which the Communists are fighting, can become the political expression of this united front of the millions. Its platform must consist of the demands of the working class and of all the toiling masses. The method of achieving these demands is through the class struggle, through the organization of all the forces of the toiling masses in a

united front against monopolies, trusts, banks, fascism and political reaction.

This united front of the proletariat will advance it to the decisive role of the leader of the toiling masses, and the Communist Party as its vanguard. When this becomes a fact, then it becomes an invincible power against fascism, and will save the country from it.

The Communist Party must carry on agitation among the broadest strata of the people for this united front, for the demands of the masses, to save them from hunger, want, unemployment, bankruptcy, oppression and inequality. The main force of the agitation must be directed against growing political reaction. Every Communist must become a proletarian agitator among the masses of the people, a proletarian organizer of the masses of the people.

The Fight for the United Front in Canada

By JOHN PORTER

THE welding of a solid united front of struggle against the forces of capitalism in Canada is proceeding at a rapid tempo, due to the determined fight of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions. In December 1934 the Central Committee of the Communist Party met in special plenary session to review the work of the Party in the fight for the united front and to give directives to the Party organizations. The Plenum adopted succinct resolutions in which were characterized the lines of activity to be followed by the Party, emphasizing the growing possibilities opened up by the radicalization of the workers, the growing dissatisfaction of the Socialist workers with their leaders, the increasing will to struggle on the part of hitherto passive sections of the proletariat and lower middle classes.

At the same time, the attention of the Party organization was called to the mistakes which have been made in united front work, the chief of which were: a hiding of Party identity, a conception of the united front in elections as being unprincipled electoral agreements in which our Party should refrain from independent activity, and criticism, sectarianism which resisted common action with the Socialist workers.

In a special organizational resolution, the methods of building the Party and extending its roots among the basic sections of the workers were set forward with special sharpness and clarity. Our members, three-quarters of whom are comparatively new recruits, were told by the Central Committee that the basic prerequisites for unfolding the united front in action were the building of the Party, the correction of its organizational weaknesses, the establishment of a firmer daily leadership over the sharpening class struggle.

Since this historic meeting (which was the first in several years to be attended by the leading Party comrades who were imprisoned in 1931 at the time the C.P. was declared illegal) great advances have been made on all fronts. The Party has increased its membership to 7,000 and is being transformed into a Party of the native working class. Greater initiative and better methods of work are to be seen in the Party section committees, which the December Plenum pointed out as the weakest links in the organization chain. The central organ of the Party has advanced from a twice-weekly to a three-times-a-week publication, a great step towards the *daily paper* which the Seventh Party Congress in June, 1934, set as an objective. It can be said without boasting that our Canadian Party has in the past six months gone forward at a rapid pace in the direction of leading, broadening and deepening the struggles of the workers and poor farmers. It is on the road to

becoming a mass Party of the Canadian workers. It has proven that it can better than ever approach working people in a manner understandable to them, with agitation arising directly out of their pressing needs, with policies which are not sectarian and foreign to them, but, on the contrary, which strike a note of response in their minds and emotions.

The changed tactic of the united front as formulated by the Communist International is the main factor responsible for these improvements in the strength and mass work of the Party. In Canada we can see exemplified the truth that the Communist Parties, by being the best fighters *for* and *in* the united front, not only advance the struggle front of the workers to new positions but at the same time extend the independent leadership of the Communists over the masses. It can safely be asserted that had not our Canadian Party determinedly applied the changed tactics of the united front and had it not firmly fought with Right passivity and "Left" sectarianism, it would not have been able today to register the successes enumerated here.

But this appreciation of the Party's improved work must not result in any "conceit"; to the contrary, the sharpening class relations and the more intricate problems the Party now faces as the struggle unfolds and as masses of hitherto passive workers are moving into action, demand a steady use of the weapon of Bolshevik self-criticism. These new and more intricate problems find the Party better than ever prepared to meet them; organizationally, because the Party has learned to combine illegal and legal methods of work, has gone a long way to solving in life the difficulty of increasing the mass work of the Party while its apparatus remains illegal, is rooting itself more and more in the heavy industry and native sections of the workers, and is developing hundreds of new, active cadres in the localities; politically, because the Party is ideologically united around the line of the Communist International, because it has developed a firm central and district leadership and because it is rapidly learning how to substitute living, operative leadership for routine, functional directives.

The changed situation which makes possible the application of the changed tactic of the united front is obvious to anyone who gives any study to the direction in which the Canadian labor movement is traveling. The central aim of the united front tactic is to win the masses who follow the Socialist leaders for a policy of class struggle, so that by their own experiences in their struggles they will recognize the correctness of the Communist position.

Shortly after the capitalist attack on the C.P. in 1931, and taking advantage of this attack, the scattered forces of social reformism federated into a single party, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.). Thousands of workers who were seeking a way out of the crisis saw in the program of the C.C.F. the solution for their hopes. The C.C.F., while it has not become a mass party in an organizational sense, nevertheless was able to canalize the sentiments of many thousands of desperate workers, poor farmers, urban middle class people and intelligentsia into the channels of social reformism, the leadership of the C. C.F., who have several seats in the federal and provincial parliaments,

which controls a few local governments, and one provincial government, follows a policy of pure bourgeois parliamentarism. The Communist Party consistently exposed the policy and program of the C.C.F.

It cannot be denied that the formation of the C.C.F. for the time being strengthened social reformism and temporarily widened its mass basis. There can be no doubt that at present more toilers support the C.C.F. than the Communist Party.

But the basis of social reformism is narrowing. The formation of the C.C.F. when the partial stabilization of capitalism had given place to the economic crisis made impossible the firm consolidation of the C.C.F. in the "European manner". Almost at once a gulf appeared between the policies of the leadership and the interests of the working class membership, between the middle class intellectuals and the class interests of the proletarians, between the trade union bureaucrats in the C.C.F. and the rank and file trade unionists.

The disintegration of the C.C.F., the growing crisis in its ranks, as with Social-Democracy in all countries, proceeds on the basis of the growing radicalization of the working class membership and of those masses of workers who look to the C.C.F. for leadership. But this at the same time makes possible the widest application of the tactics of the united front in action between the Communist and Socialist workers.

How do the C.C.F. leaders receive the Communist proposals for united front actions? As in many other countries, with blanket refusals at first, then with such counter-proposals as "organizational unity" within the ranks of the C.C.F., this at the same time that the C.C.F. leadership bureaucratically expel whole working class sections of the Party, as happened when the labor section of the Ontario C.C.F. were thrown out of the Party for solidly supporting the united front with the Communist Party in the trial on sedition charges of the secretary of the Canadian Labor Defense League in 1934.

Many local organizations of the C.C.F. have accepted the united front proposals of the Communist Party, despite the frantic prohibitions of the leaders. Thus, in British Columbia, the district committees of the C.C.F. and the Communist Party have signed a pact for joint action to win the franchise for thousands of workers in forced labor camps who are deprived of the vote by the new elections act. In Regina, the local organizations of the two parties have signed an agreement for joint meetings and demonstrations to enforce higher unemployment relief, to oppose the vicious unemployment insurance bill recently enacted by the Bennett government, and to fight forced labor schemes. Similar agreements have been concluded in other localities between the two parties. C.C.F. organizations in dozens of localities are working together with Communist and non-Party workers in the League Against War and Fascism, and recently the Executive of the largest C.C.F. organization, in Ontario, which last year expelled its labor section for supporting the united front, has been compelled to express its willingness to enter the anti-fascist front.

These are signal successes. They have been made possible by the improved understanding in the Party, and particularly in its lower

organizations, of the meaning of the changed tactics of the united front as set forward by the Communist International.

The immediate task of the Party is to extend the tactics of the united front so as to take full advantage of the increasing willingness of the workers to unite on the basis of their pressing needs. This demands in the first place the overcoming of certain shortcomings in the application of the united front tactics. The Party has shown on several occasions that it has not fully understood the methods of applying the united front tactics, nor how to approach the mass of Social-Democratic workers in order to convince them of the sincerity of the Party in making its united front proposals.

For example, the Party failed until comparatively recently to differentiate between the pseudo-Left C.C.F. leaders and those who were actually Left and honest supporters of the united front. It placed all Lefts in one basket, even as recently as at the time of the last Party Congress in 1934, and on several occasions last year in the central Party organ. The Party has found great difficulty in understanding that one of the cardinal features of the changed united front tactics is the manner in which the masses who still follow the C.C.F. shall be won for revolutionary class struggle, namely, in the course of their own experiences, during the united front actions, and not by abuse and the free use of the terms "social fascist" and "traitor".

Surely no one denies that the policies of the top leaders of the C.C.F. in Canada open the flood gates of fascism and betray the class interests of the workers. No one denies that the Party must carry through its independent program and criticism whether united front agreements have been concluded or not. But if the Party is going to convince the workers, who still have faith in the C.C.F. but who at the same time are willing to struggle, of the correctness of the united front tactics and its fundamental urgency in the present period, it will have to learn to draw a sharp line between false "Lefts" and those who are willing to fight with us, to substitute experience in struggle for harsh terms.

The following quotation from the leading article in *The Communist International*, No. 24, December 20, 1934, fully applies to the work of the Canadian Party in the past period:

> "We know how difficult it was and still is to give up the idea that every Social-Democratic official who uses 'Left' language does this entirely for demagogic purposes, as part of his 'Left' maneuvers. We know how difficult it was and still is to master the point that we must now differentiate between pseudo-Left Social-Democratic functionaries and those who are really Left. We know how difficult it was and still is to some extent to master the point that the influence of Social-Democracy cannot be done away with merely by such harsh words as 'social fascist' and 'social traitor' and that in present conditions it is more important to show by the practical experience of the struggle that the Social-Democrats betray the cause of the working class. All these views and habits constitute a 'Left' sectarian danger and therefore in order to break the ice, in

order to clear a path for ourselves to the tactics of the broad united front, we have had in the past and often now have in various countries to direct a powerful and sometimes the main fire to the 'Left'."

While these manifestations of "Left" sectarianism have occurred in Canada, the main obstacle to the successful application of the united front tactic remains the Right danger, Right sectarianism. In the course of election campaigns, our local Party organizations have at times submerged their identity "in the interests of unity", failing to see that this not only assists the C.C.F. leadership but compromises the united front tactics in the eyes of the workers and makes genuine united front actions difficult to accomplish, not to speak of the failure to understand that the tactics of the united front are subordinate at all times to the main strategy of our Party: the winning of the majority of the working class for Soviet Canada, which can be achieved not by any unprincipled bloc with the C.C.F. but in the fight against it.

The concluding of united front agreements with the C.C.F. organizations is but the commencement of a wide application of the united front tactics, as was pointed out in the resolution of the December meeting of the C.C. Changed tactics bring new problems, and the problems which are arising for our Party in the course of the united front must be faced and clearly understood by every Party member. First of all, our Party members must understand clearly the role of the Communists in the united front, and above all, how to bring forward the independent position of the Party, its program and policy, while at the same time refraining from any act which would give the reformist leaders any excuse for breaking the united front. The main guarantee in this respect is the increasing independent mass work of the Party, in the course of which the Party must be built. A danger exists, particularly among the new members of our Party (who constitute the majority) that some of our comrades may conceive of the united front agreements with the C.C.F. organization as making necessary a cessation or lessening of independent Communist mass work. It is therefore essential that the Party thoroughly explains to the membership that unless our Party's independent program is not placed before the masses, unless every effort is made to win the workers for the Communist position, then such a united front can only be of use to the C.C.F., and will not fulfill its main objective, the winning of the workers away from the line of class peace and for revolutionary class struggle.

Now that sections of our Party organization have signed agreements with the C.C.F. it is required that we remember

> ". . . that Social-Democracy agrees to form a united front with the Communists only to the extent that the *defensive task* is fulfilled, namely, of repulsing the offensive of fascism, of defending the democratic rights of the workers from the attacks of fascism and of hindering and delaying the outbreak of war through the joint action of the anti-fascist forces. Social-Democracy agrees to a united front with the Communists while adhering to the principles of bourgeois democracy. *But the aims*

we pursue are not only defensive but offensive." (*The Communist International*, No. 24, 1934, p. 863.)

It is therefore of the utmost necessity that, entering now into a period in which the united front is gaining popularity among wide masses of workers, our Party understands that the united front must be one of action which will bring experiences to the workers out of which they will, with the aid of our independent Communist mass activity, draw revolutionary conclusions. Revolutionary perspective, stressed at the Seventh Congress of the Canadian Party, must be kept constantly before our eyes.

While carrying through the united front, while prepared to sign agreements with the C.C.F. while loyally adhering to the agreements during the course of the action, our Party organizations cannot for a moment relinquish their Communist responsibilities, can at no time be bound by the narrow limits of the agreements and must not hesitate to widen the struggle, from below, beyond the confines of the agreements.

If a consistent revolutionary policy is pursued in this manner, and providing the Party is on guard against the Right danger and "Left" sectarian isolation, the mounting wave of united front actions will detach great sections of the workers from the paralyzing influence of the C.C.F. and the trade union bureaucrats.

Two main questions involving the united front face our Party at the present time: the general elections and trade union unity, with which this article will deal.

THE GENERAL ELECTIONS AND THE UNITED FRONT

This year the first general election since 1930 is to take place. The five years since the last general voting have been marked by severe class battles. Masses of workers and poor farmers are moving out of that passivity which was fostered and encouraged by the bourgeois and social reformist leaders. They are moving to the offensive in industries until now unorganized. Not since 1920, at the close of the post-war strike wave has the number of industrial battles been so great as now, and the tempo, both with regard to number and intensity, is increasing. The million-strong unemployed army is mobilizing around the demand for non-contributory unemployment insurance. Numerous local actions are forcing the authorities to increase relief and rent schedules. The poor farmers, plunged into abject poverty by the crisis, are being reached by the program of struggle of the Farmers Unity League, militant poor farmer organization. The urban middle classes and the intelligentsia who have been the victims of the policies of monopoly capital, are evincing greater interest in the program of the revolutionary workers.

The policies of the two main bourgeois parties, Liberal and Conservative, are in the main determined by the necessity of keeping back the mass offensive, of which the forerunners are the mounting strike wave, the militant actions of the unemployed, the extending united front against war and fascism, the growth of struggles among the poor farmers and, last but by no means least, the increasing mass influence of the Communist Party and the growing popularity of its slogans. To mislead the masses and to cripple their increasing militancy will mean

that the bourgeoisie will be able to take full advantage of the depression stage of the economic crisis to maintain and increase the rate of profit at the expense of the workers, and to carry through its war plans.

In order to secure the continued existence of its rule, the Canadian bourgeoisie are resorting to measures calculated to deceive and further oppress the masses while at the same time to strengthen the position of monopoly capital at the expense of the petty capitalists.

Such measures are contained in "N.R.A." legislation both on a national and provincial scale, embodying industrial codes, minimum [read "maximum"] wages, a legal 8-hour working day with wage reductions, contributory unemployment insurance, closer cooperation between the bureaucracy, reformist unions and the state apparatus and the stimulation of employers' associations and company unions (designed primarily to prevent the further growth of the revolutionary unions and the militant rank and file movements), inflation, government marketing, etc. This is a program of big capital which, while modelled on the Roosevelt principle, has also the advantages of Roosevelt's experiences. It is directed point blank against the interests of the workers, poor farmers and impoverished urban middle classes. It is the program of trustified capital for the further fascization of the state apparatus, a process which commenced with such openly dictatorial legislation as the "Special Powers Act" and the "Peace, Order and Good Government" declarations of the Bennett government which provided for extra-parliamentary rule-by-decree.

In the conditions prevailing, the Canadian bourgeoisie cannot blatantly put its program before the masses in the hope of gaining mass support; it therefore camouflages its fascist ambitions with demagogy calculated to win the sympathies of the exhausted people and to restore their vacillating faith in capitalism. In this manner the whole program of trustified capital is masquerading as a "New Deal", as a "reform program" to destroy the "evils of capitalism". Bennett, the multi-millionaire premier of the Conservative government speaks of "capitalism crashing about our ears", and calls for "national unity between all classes" to save capitalism. He even goes to the length of saying that conversations in Geneva with Comrade Litvinov have brought him to the realization that many "reforms" must be made to insure a decent standard of living for the masses!

Such brazen and lying demagogy is being poured through radio, pulpit and press in the hope that the program of trustified capital may receive the backing of the working people.

On this program the Liberal and Conservative Parties are *basically agreed.* While pursuing and advocating different tactics, and while representing the immediate interests of different sections of the bourgeoisie, on the *general basic* questions of bourgeois policy towards the main danger for them, the masses, they are at one. This does not mean that during the election campaign the pseudo-parliamentary "struggle" in the bourgeois camp will not be used to garner working class votes.

But the Canadian capitalists depend also on the Socialist leaders for aid in carrying through this program of big capital, and they are

not disappointed. Thus Woodsworth, leader of the C.C.F. and member of parliament, approved the forced marketing act of the Bennett government as "socialist measures". He and his colleagues voted for the outrageous contributory unemployment insurance act of the government on the plea that it was "a step in the right direction". A provincial government controlled by the C.C.F. last year enacted an N.R.A. measure which strikes at the lives of 12,000 coal miners, and which provides severe penalties for striking.

While the top Socialist leaders have been forced in some instances to make "Left" gestures because of the growing demand of their followers for a united front policy of struggle, and because many middle Socialist leaders are genuinely supporting the united front, the official policy of the Socialist leadership remains the same. There is to be clearly seen a widening gulf between the political policies and activities of the top Socialist leadership and the class interests of their working class membership and followers.

The Liberal and Conservative Parties are entering the elections with programs for the further enslavement of the toiling masses.

The C.C.F. leadership is entering the elections with a program of "Reconstruction, not Reform", a program of parliamentary reformism with which it hopes to gain the support of the workers, farmers and all other strata of the population who possess votes.

If it does not hope at this election to become the government, then the C.C.F. leadership hopes to have the honor of being "His Majesty's Opposition".

The *Communist Party* is already in the election campaign with a program around which it calls for a united front against the program of big capital, for a fight against the fascist and war plans of the capitalists. The Communist program contains the main immediate demands of the workers and poor farmers; for the workers, full and free unemployment and social insurance, a shorter working day with no wage reductions, the restoration of wage cuts, the right to organize, strike and picket; for the poor farmers, relief from debt and taxation, aid from the government, against evictions for debt. For the whole toiling population and the middle classes, our Party puts forward the fight against fascism and war, for freedom of speech, organization and assembly.

The attention of the whole population is centered on the coming election. During the campaign, when a greater amount of freedom of speech will prevail than ordinarily, our Party will have splendid opportunities to carry its independent program daily into the working class and to develop immediate struggles around a whole number of burning issues. Numerous avenues of mass agitation and propaganda open themselves before our Party, which must be utilized to the full to present our Party program on all questions to the masses. Our Party must in the course of the campaign set itself the task of developing its mass influence among the masses as never before. Communist workers must be elected to parliament. With this aim, sixteen constituencies have been selected in which, owing to years of intensive mass work, our Party has won great influence. Here such popular Communist leaders as Tim Buck, the general secretary of the Communist Party, are candidates.

Our Party has tremendous responsibilities in this election. It is the only Party which offers any immediate and ultimate solution to the workers and toiling farmers. It has the task of exposing the whole program of the Bennett government for what it is. It will direct its fire also against the Liberal Party, which the bourgeoisie in all probability intends shall be the next government, whose program is *in essentials* that of the Conservative Party. It will unmask and expose the reformist policies and actions of the C.C.F. top leadership, using to the full the experiences of the German and Austrian workers, as well as Canadian illustrations, to show how the policies of Social-Democracy lead to the victory of fascism.

Therefore our Party's fight for a united front in the federal elections is a supreme political task at the present moment, to the successful carrying through of which every member of our Party must be mobilized. It is no exaggeration to say that the extent to which our Party can inspire and convince the masses, and in the first place the Socialist workers and lower officials, that the road of the united front is the only working class path which leads to victory, will determine the extent to which the capitalist parties and the C.C.F. leadership will fail in their purposes.

A united front with the C.C.F. in the elections is already being prepared in the local Party organizations by the conclusion of agreements on the whole number of questions. The success of these united front agreements have proven to the Socialist workers and lower officials that the united front *is possible* despite the opposition and sabotage of the top leadership. This makes it all the more easy for our Party to bring about election agreements in the constituencies between the C.C.F. and Communist organizations, so that united workers' candidates can be placed in the field who will support and fight for a program of immediate demands such as the Communist Party's. In this manner the workers' votes will not be split on voting day. In this manner a united front can be opposed to the capitalist candidates. *In this manner, a whole number of fighting workers can be elected to the next parliament, there to struggle for the interests of the toilers, to oppose the repressive measures of the capitalists.*

The support of the membership of the C.C.F. for the united working class election front, for *independent working class political action separated from the policies of class peace and collaboration,* will to a large extent determine the attitude of the top leadership to the proposals of the Central Committee of our Party for joint action. To judge by the refusal of the C.C.F. leadership to join with the C.P. on such questions as Spain, the fight against war and fascism and for genuine workers' unemployment insurance, it is possible that the C.C.F. National Council will refuse the C.P. proposals for a united front in the elections. This will not prevent our Party from fighting for the acceptance of these proposals. At the same time the Party must regard the growing number of agreements between local and district C.P. and Socialist organizations as a powerful force in determining the attitude of the top C.C.F. leadership. Therefore the top leadership of the C.C.F. must

be constantly pressed to accept and carry through election agreements with the C.P. This pressure should not be directed only by letters from the Central Committee of the C.P. but should and can come from those local C.C.F. organizations which have experienced the fighting manner in which the Communists carry through united front actions.

If our Party guards against the dangers mentioned in the commencement of this article, if the independent program of the Party reaches the majority of the workers due to the excellent work of the Party organizations, if we do not hide the Party's face under any circumstances but at all times keep in mind the major strategy of our Party—to win the majority of the workers for Communism—and learn to approach correctly the C.C.F. and the non-Party workers, then we can rest assured that the election will not only win new positions along all sectors of the united working class front, but that the new bourgeois parliament will contain real workers' representatives elected on a program of class struggle.

TRADE UNION UNITY

The second and basically the most important question determining the course of the Canadian labor movement is that of trade union unity. It is not possible in the course of this article to do more than sketch the problem. In the first place, the whole course of events in the trade union movement makes possible a more determined fight along new lines to achieve the unification of the trade union movement on the basis of class struggle as against class collaboration, trade union democracy as against the bureaucratic domination of a corrupt union officialdom.

At the present time the Canadian trade unions are organized into the following five groups: American Federation of Labor (represented in Canada by the Trade and Labor Congress), the All-Canadian Congress of Labor (Canadian national unions), the Catholic Syndicates among the French-speaking workers, the independent unions (including the railroad brotherhoods centered in the U.S.A.), and the revolutionary unions organized into the Workers' Unity League.

The economic offensive of the bourgeoisie found the vast majority of organized workers saddled with a trade union officialdom which actively aided the capitalists in cutting wages without resistance from the workers. It is a fact that no significant strikes of the reformist union workers have taken place during the whole course of the economic crisis, in spite of the reduction of wages by as much as 40 per cent.

Nevertheless, the workers moved to the counter-offensive, in the main under the leadership of the *revolutionary unions*, which grew in number and prestige primarily because they led to victory the *vast majority* of the strikes since 1929. The strike wave is rising. Workers in the most highly rationilized, and at the same time unorganized, industries are moving into action.

Fearful of this, the government is enacting industrial codes for the purpose of outlawing strikes, compelling the workers to arbitrate without striking, all with the aim of stopping the growth of the revolutionary unions. Company unions are on the increase in a number

of industries, particularly the heavy industries such as steel, packing, textile, automobile, chemical, where as yet no mass unions, but only small revolutionary union groups, exist.

The revolutionary unions have sounded the alarm. In an appeal issued February 28 of this year, they call the attention of all trade unionists, regardless of affiliation, and all unorganized workers to the anti-union, open-shop program of the government, to the "reform" program of big capital. The revolutionary unions correctly state that as long as the majority of the workers are unorganized, particularly in the heavy and strategic war industries, so long will the employers be in a position to enforce slave codes through the medium of company unions, or reformist unions in which the officials blockade the road to strike action.

One trade union center, composed of all unions, united on a basis of struggle and of trade union democracy—this is the mobilization slogan correctly advanced by the revolutionary unions with the active support of the Communist Party. Together with this, the immediate and most pressing task of the labor unions is to at once effect the organization of the unorganized workers. The revolutionary unions are in the van of a "crusade" to organize the non-union industries.

Awakening from a passivity which was engendered by the policies of the trade union bureaucrats, numerous reformist local unions are enthusiastically answering the call of the revolutionary unions for joint action between local and district trade unions in the same industry to gain higher wages and shorter hours. The number of such joint actions is increasing each month, to the consternation of the higher officialdom of the reformist unions. Not since 1919, when the militancy of the workers was run off into syndicalist channels, there to be wasted, has the ferment in the unions been so marked.

But this is only a beginning. The Communists in the trade unions have upon their shoulders the grave responsibility of giving up leadership to the desire for unity, in order that the mistakes of the past may not be repeated, in order that the workers may fully recover from the effect of the betrayals of the bureaucrats.

Our Party and the revolutionary unions have the task of conducting the fight for a unified trade union movement through the joint actions of unions in the same industry, leading up to the amalgamation of these unions on a basis which will allow the free expression of opinions and the following of a line of struggle. There can be no iron rule in this. The utmost flexibility has to be shown, with the end in view of achieving the maximum joint action and the maximum organization of the unorganized industries. Each industry will have to be judged and examined concretely, with the general interests of the workers constantly in mind.

This does not mean for a moment that the revolutionary trade unions shall be liquidated, or that they must cease to carry on their successful campaigns to organize the unorganized. To the contrary. The revolutionary unions are and must remain in the forefront in the organizing of the unorganized, placing no obstacle in the way of organization by the insistence on affiliation to the Workers' Unity League.

The revolutionary unions which exist side by side with reformist unions in the same industry are not small unions in Canada, but are, in the main, mass unions with firm footholds in decisive sections of the industry. They are in a favorable position to imbue the membership of the reformist unions with a will to unity in struggle, through which the amalgamation of the various unions can be brought about.

The primary prerequisite for the success of trade union unity is the existence of powerful rank and file movements within the reformist unions. Exactly here is to be found the *weakest spot* in the Canadian trade union movement, and here too our Party must accept the major responsibility. It is necessary that our Party shall revise the old conception of work within the reformist unions, namely, the open leadership of the Workers' Unity League over the militants within the reformist unions, who were organized into sectarian groups on the basis of a program of revolutionary industrial unionism. Such a conception narrowed down the rank and file movement to those workers who accepted the full program of the revolutionary unions with the consequence that they appeared in the unions from the "outside", with a program which did not embrace the immediate needs of the unionists.

The growing ferment in the reformist unions offers the possibility for the appearance of a whole number of broad rank and file movements embracing the majority of the membership. But unless the Party exercises its strength to transfer all its eligible members to the reformist unions, there to work as the most active trade unionists occupied with the daily life of the unions, becoming the leaders of the local and district union organizations because of their exemplary work, the rank and file movements will not become those powerful factors for struggle and for trade union unity which are sorely needed to combat the splitting policies of the trade union bureaucrats.

The main resolution of the Seventh Congress of our Party placed this question. Since that time the matter has become much more clarified. *But in practice it is still lagging behind the demands of the present period.* Correct Communist mass work within the basic organizations of the Canadian workers, the reformist unions, is the main prerequisite for the success of the united front tactics, not only in the trade union, but in all other fields.

At the same time, in order to consolidate and strengthen the revolutionary unions, with their 35,000 organized workers, the Communists must pay greater attention to the promotion of non-Party cadres, to the education of these workers who have recently entered into the labor movement, and to strict observance of trade union democracy. To relax for one moment Communist work within the revolutionary unions would be a grave error, one which would threaten the whole existence of these fighting organizations.

* * *

Our growing Communist Party is working in the most favorable objective situation in the thirteen years of its existence. The Bolshevik application of the united front tactics in the present period will enable it to make great strides forward in the coming period.

The Communist Party of Poland Between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses of the Communist International

By J. LENSKY

Part II.

THE exceedingly strained political situation, the liquidation of the remnants of the social and political gains of the proletariat as carried out by the government, the immediate threat of the fascist unification of trade unions and the sharp frontal attack of capital, have strengthened the striving for united front among the masses. As a result the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party and the Bund were forced to come out against the initiative of the Communists with ever shrewder maneuvers.

"The united front fever" as it was termed by one of the leaders of the Socialist Party has compelled the Socialist Party of Poland to call a workers' conference in Warsaw. This conference was to be a substitute for a broad united front. By means of limiting elections and by the appointment of delegates, this conference was supposed to give a false conception of the actual desires of the Warsaw proletariat. Around this conference the Communist Party developed a mass campaign for a genuine united front. In other industrial centers (Lodz, Dombrov, Bialystock, etc.). the Communist Party took into its own hands the initiative of calling workers' conferences. In contrast to the Socialist Party of Poland, our organization linked up the calling of these workers' conferences with a platform of concrete action (strikes, demonstrations, etc.).

A group of "Lefts" headed by Zaromboy were unsuccessful in their attempt to convene sham conferences of workers' delegates in Warsaw to take the place of the united front. The very fact that in spite of the electoral machinations of the organizers of the conference (the Workers' Left opposition comprised one-fifth part [90] of the delegates) the platform of demands it put forward was accepted by the conference, was proof of the popularity of the united front among the Warsaw proletariat and among the activists of the Socialist organizations. This also explains the fact that the conference unanimously passed a resolution against the pro-Hitler policy of the Polish government, and in defense of the U.S.S.R.

THE MAIN QUESTIONS OF TACTICS

In our tactics, in connection with the conference, we particularly stressed the united front of struggle on behalf of the platform of concrete demands which they had passed. The more actual of these was the struggle of the Warsaw tramwaymen and gas workers, for whom the trade union "Left" opposition agreed to join the minority in the committee of action attached to the reformist trade union and to do their utmost to assist the executive of those trade unions which joined in the strike. The Warsaw organization of our Party appealed to the local Polish Socialist Party with the proposal that they give joint support to the municipal workers, and it launched a broad campaign of solidarity in the factories and trade unions. Defense of the collective agreements of the municipal workers, and the right of trade unions to conclude collective agreements were of importance on a regional scale.

The Communists behaved in the same way concerning the resolution in defense of the U.S.S.R., passed under the influence of our struggle and at the proposal of the Left workers' opposition.

Conferences, resolutions, say the Communists, must not remain on paper. First and foremost it obliges the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party and the Polish Bund to put a stop to all slander against the proletarian State. The broad masses, including also many Social-Democratic workers, really want to defend the U.S.S.R. from the invasion of their own and foreign imperialists. These masses see in the Soviet Union, the only proletarian State in the world which is building socialism, a mighty prop in the fight against fascism and capitalism. They feel that in defending the U.S.S.R. they are defending the cause of the workers, their own class interests.

The Polish Communist Party has achieved considerable successes in the sphere of the united front, primarily thanks to the change in its everyday practical work. Whereas a year ago our organizations found it difficult to adopt the new tactical methods, whereas their campaign was limited to agitation for the united front around the appeal of the Central Committee, now the whole of the Party is alive with the problem of the united front, its practical realization, and the local organizations display much initiative. The first big step along this road has now been taken. A big breach has been made in Social-Democracy. Wide access has been found to the Social-Democratic workers. Comeradely connections have been established with a considerable part of the activists who are swinging to the Left. Agreements have been concluded with several Social-Democratic organizations, especially with rank and file organizations.

The basis of our successes in the sphere of the united front was the combination of an appeal to the leading organizations of Social-Democracy and the development of action from below, with various forms of direct influence upon the Social-Democratic masses, with activities inside their organizations, with the formation of united front committees in the factories from among the organized and unorganized workers.

In view of the fact that the leading organs of the Social-Democratic parties have sabotaged any kind of unity of action, we placed the main stress in our work on the attempt to bring entire organizations of the Polish Socialist Party, the Bund, and other organizations, into the united front. In illegal conditions, this work demands the maximum of flexibility and persistence. Instead of a general scheme, a concrete estimate must be made of the difficulties which cannot be passed over. It is equally necessary to have a differentiated approach to different Social-Democratic Parties. If in Poland itself, our Party should overcome the cunning sabotage of the united front on the part of the Social-Democratic leaders, in Western Ukraine it was met by a pogrom-attitude towards this question on the part of the social reformists. In the beginning of this year, the "Ukranian Socialist Bloc" openly set itself the task of the armed "overthrow of Bolshevik dictatorship" in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. This bloc was composed of different groups of Social-Democrats carrying on their nefarious work in the Ukrainian S.S.R., as well as the Western Ukrainian Social-Democratic Parties. The Communists are obliged, not only to bring into the united front rank and file organizations that are dissatisfied with the leaders, but also to get them to openly break with the interventionist policy of the "Bloc". The possibilities that are open to our work can be judged by the activities of the Left opposition against the leaders of the "Bloc" in defense of the U.S.S.R. at the last congress of the "Labor Party", and the fact that the majority of the delegates to the congress agreed with the opposition.

During the recent months the Communist Party has gone from agitation for the united front to concluding agreements on the question of united action with Social-Democratic organizations.

Several strikes carried out by the Communist Party in a united front with the Social-Democratic (chiefly trade union) organizations have stimulated the confidence of the masses toward us and helped further to break down the barrier set up by the leadership of the Polish Socialist Party and the Bund. The general strikes of protest against fascist repressions and the license of the owners in Pabianicz, Vloczlawk and Zamostje, were of this nature. The Communists tried to imbue the general strike of protest of the Dombrov miners and the textile workers of the Lodz region in January 1935 with the same character. Our proposals had the support of the meetings and delegate conferences.

The Lodz organization correctly opposed the attempts of the Polish Socialist Party to keep the Lodz textile strike within the framework of economic action on the part of the textile workers, by putting forward the slogan for a general strike of the proletariat of Lodz and the Lodz region, directed also against the menace of fascist unification of the trade unions. Thanks to the efforts of the Communists, the metal workers, workers in the silk and other factories, also joined in the strike. A central strike committee was elected at the delegate conference, at the proposal of the trade union "Left".

The role of the Dombrov organization would have been much greater had it immediately begun to create a network of strike committees in

the mines and strike commissions in the trade union branches, and then proposed that the delegate conference elect a central strike committee. The absence of these organs and of common united front committees with the rank and file organizations of the Polish Socialist Party restricted the size of the strike. The groups of Communists and Socialists formed in a hurry on the eve and on the day of the strike, with all the activity displayed by our organizations, could not take the place of a broad leadership which would have overcome the sabotage of the trade union bureaucracy.

The Communist Party must take all this experience into account in its coming activities, first and foremost in its preparations toward a victorious end—for the general strike of the municipal workers, miners and textile workers, who are suffering from the most cruel attacks of the capitalists. *It is essential that the new methods and forms of the united front should be combined with those forms of organizing the struggle which have already been tried* (committees of action, strike committees and others), that the initiative in declaring the strike be combined with preparations for and organizational leadership of the coming battles.

This is especially necessary where the Social-Democratic Parties do their utmost to sabotage the united front and smash the united action of the proletariat. It is impossible to manage without organs elected by the masses in the factories, just as it is impossible to postpone the struggle until agreement has been concluded with the Social-Democratic leadership. However, we must not inflict these organs upon the Social-Democratic leadership as an ultimative condition for the united front. We must be flexible in substituting one form for another or in adopting varied forms created by the masses, as for example, mass delegations, initiative groups, strike commissions, strike committees, assistance commissions, negotiating commissions, etc. We must link up their activities with the trade unions, *for the success of the struggle depends more and more upon whether the trade unions are drawn into the strike struggle.* The Lodz comrades successfully adopted this method in preparing for and conducting the general strike of the textile workers.

Comrade Thorez is quite correct when, in his article on the development of the united front in France, he emphasized the great importance of united front committees in France. Even more so is this important in Poland.

The chief shortcomings at present in the work to create the united front can be outlined as follows:

1. Our efforts to draw the Social-Democratic organizations into the united front of struggle, particularly after the leadership of the Polish Socialist Party and the Bund had forbidden any negotiations to take place with the Communists, and adopted repressive measures toward those organizations which violated discipline, are still not sufficient. In the Young Communist League there is still a strong "Leftist" attitude to unity of action. The Young Communist League has not been successful in converting its agreements on the united front into broad mass action.

2. The number of united front committees is insufficient, especially in the Dombrov region, and their activities are weak, for example in Warsaw, where our organization has not gone farther than conferences of committees, embracing mainly the small and middle industries and second rate districts of the Polish Socialist Party, which have declared themselves in favor of a united front with the Communists. The metal workers remain the weakest spot in our work among the industrial proletariat, although during the last year the Warsaw organization has strengthened its position here. In Lodz, where the decisive regional organizations of the Polish Socialist Party adopted a proposal on the united front, we have not been successful in establishing firm ties with these organizations, we have not been successful in developing broad joint action and thus breaking down the sabotage of the Polish Socialist Party leaders in whole organizations.

Among the agricultural proletariat, the united front is still in its embryonic stage.

3. The united front campaign has not as yet embraced the unemployed masses, the struggles of the employed workers are not properly linked up with the needs of the unemployed. The work of defending the interests of the unemployed in the trade unions is badly organized. There has not as yet been created a broad network of united front committees. All the attention of the Party organizations is directed toward the labor exchanges and the lunch rooms. And yet fascism is systematically drilling the unemployed youth in various camps and clubs; they are forming philanthropic societies to assist the unemployed. In all these organizations we must create our own points of struggle. We must organize mass support on the part of the employed workers of the actions of the unemployed (joint committees of action, meetings, demonstrations demanding the 6-hour working day, public works, etc.).

At moments when big strike battles are approaching, the tendency to substitute independent preparations for battles for the mechanical dispatch of open letters to leaders of Social-Democracy and passively awaiting replies to them, is particularly dangerous. Actually this Right opportunist tendency in some links of the Party is interwoven with "Leftist" ignoring of mass work. Thanks to timely criticism on the part of the Central Committee, our organizations have pulled themselves up, have made it clear to themselves that the initiative must never be separated from its actual practical expression.

Only stubborn work among the masses around our appeals, as the Central Committee has constantly stressed; only skillful organization of the day-to-day struggle of the working class by the Communists, and only by *drawing the Social-Democratic organizations into the joint struggle*, can all the obstacles on the road to a broad united front be removed, and the leadership of the Polish Socialist Party and the Bund be forced to enter into a united front with the Polish Communist Party. According to Alter, a leader of the Bund, the struggle "on behalf of the united front" which was begun with such colossal energy by the Communists, caused vacillation even in the Central Committee of the

Polish Socialist Party, which feared that the Polish Socialist Party organizations would create "united front committees everywhere against the will of the Party".

Our campaign for the united front increased the unrest in the ranks of the Polish Socialist Party and the Bund. Even the Polish Socialist Party press began to raise its voice, recognizing that the "policy of the Second International and the majority of the Social-Democratic Parties was a policy of compromises and conciliation", that "the events in Germany and Austria have killed once and for all the theory of the peaceful development into socialism", and that "life itself has pointed to the need of a united front with the Communists". (*Volya Lyudu*, October 14, 1934.)

The rank and file of the Polish Socialist Party and the Bund are ever more noticeably swinging to the Left. In addition to the "Left" leaders who maneuver before the masses, there are arising activists who have a truly Left outlook and who advocate the united front with the Communists.

Whether Left elements and groupings are really sincere can be judged today by their practical attitude to the united front. One cannot fight against reformism and at the same time join with the reformists in sabotaging the united front. "Left" phrases covered by Right actions are worth nothing.

This is how the Communists raise the question in reply to the "Left" gestures of the leaders of the Bund who sabotage the united front. The Communist Party approaches the platform of "organic unity" put forward today by the leadership of the Bund for the purpose of drawing the attention of the Bund workers away from the united front of struggle, with their criterion of unity of action, unity of everyday struggle. But while exposing the unitarian demagogy of the reformists, we should tactfully listen to and behave in a friendly manner towards the Social-Democratic workers who are desirous of unity, explaining to them our Communist conception of class and organizational unity, and stressing the point that the united front leads to unity of the forces of the proletariat for the struggle for their daily needs, and against the common enemy.

The last Congress of the Bund revealed a deep process of radicalization not only among the rank and file members but also among the activists of that Party. The fact that one-third of the delegates voted in favor of leaving the Second International is characteristic of the anti-reformist feeling in the Bund organizations which the leaders of the Bund—Alter, Erlich and others—are trying to keep in the Second International with their "Left" phraseology. Apparently, some of the members of the Bund have ceased to believe in the possibility of the "class, revolutionary regeneration" of the Second International.

A similar process, though in a more hidden form, is taking place also in the Polish Socialist Party, where repressive discipline prevents the Left groups from taking shape on a broad scale. In certain places, especially in Warsaw, the Communists have been successful in estab-

lishing unity of action with opposition elements, the direct task of whom is to draw whole organizations onto the road of the united front.

It is quite clear that the united front tactics should hasten the crystallization of the class consciousness of the Social-Democratic masses, and their break from reformism. The break with the ideology and policy of reformism on the part of separate links of Social-Democracy is taking place slower in Poland than in Austria or in Germany, although objective causes are acting in the same direction (impoverishment of the masses, the contraction of the strata of labor aristocracy, their partial substitution for privileged cadres of fascism, etc.). It should be remembered that in addition to the privilege of legality, the Polish Socialist Party, the Bund and other organizations have at their disposal the "capital" created by years of opposition toward fascist dictatorship. The expulsion of the Polish Socialist Party from the state apparatus glosses over the complicated mechanism of its collaboration with the bourgeoisie. The ability of the Polish Socialist Party to maneuver has manifested itself in the demagogic issuing of the slogan: "dictatorship of the toilers", in its demonstrative refusal to take the reformist path, its rejection of the democratic development into Socialism under capitalism, etc.

This forced "change of signposts" took place a long time ago in the Polish Socialist Party, which changed also its tactics in the strike movement: it is more and more frequently trying to head inevitable strikes that break out, in order to endow them with a peaceful nature and to keep the masses on their side; every mistake on the part of our organizations is used by the leaders of the reformist trade unions for the purpose of taking over the leadership of strikes. *Weaknesses and shortcomings of the Communist Party are utilized by reformism.*

Skillful maneuvering on the part of the upper strata of the Polish Socialist Party and the Bund creates the impression among the rank and file workers and the middle activists that these parties are re-arming in a revolutionary spirit. Consequently the Communists should expose all the more stubbornly the reformist policy of splitting the working class, the Polish Socialist Party ideology of "a state above classes" and defense of the bourgeois fatherland, the struggle of the Polish Socialist Party against the slogan of self-determination of nations enslaved by Polish imperialism, the nationalism of Social-Democracy, its hostile attitude to the Soviet Union. Consequently, the more concretely should the Communists confront the masses with the problem of power and revolution, the more persistently should they put forward the revolutionary destruction of the military-bureaucratic machine of the bourgeois state instead of its renovation, the broader should the Party popularize the Soviet government as the only expression of working class democracy.

The Communists should not forget the only guarantee of victory is for our Party to win the majority of the working class for proletarian revolution.

Right mistakes have revealed themselves most strongly in the election campaign in the locals. In general our election tactics should pro-

vide for a united front against terror, abuses, and the methods of forgery used by fascism. At the factory-workshop committee elections, as a general rule, lists of candidates should be put forward by the united front, together with a platform of struggle for the daily demands of the workers. It is possible also to have joint lists of candidates at the municipal elections in proletarian centers where there is danger of a reactionary, fascist majority. The main condition in the election campaign is a class, anti-fascist platform of united action. Each side maintains for itself freedom of agitation on behalf of its own slogans. The forms in which the united front tactics will be used at the coming Seim elections depend, of course, upon the political situation and the new electoral system which is not yet established. *A united front of struggle must now be created against the fascist constitution, against destruction of the rights and gains of the toilers, on behalf of freedom of organizations, of the press, etc.*

It should be taken into consideration that as the united front develops, the danger of Right mistakes grows, for the Polish Communist Party is not insured against the illusions which the maneuvering tactics of Social-Democracy create. Moreover, it is necessary to always remember that Right opportunism is interwoven in various forms with the manifestation of "Leftist" sectarianism, which undermines the confidence that the masses feel in the united front. Our activists must learn to adopt new methods of tactics consistently and to understand fully that these methods do not consist in making demonstrative offers of a united front with the express purpose of getting refusals from the upper strata of the Polish Socialist Party or the Bund, but in persistent efforts to create unity of action with Social-Democratic organizations, to break down the sabotage of the reformist leaders and to get a united front with the Social-Democratic parties.

The entire political situation favors our struggle for the united front.

* * *

The development of the strike struggle imperatively demands that our organizations make the complete turn in trade union work, as laid down by the Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party (1933).

The Sixth Congress of the Polish Communist Party had already decided that "work in the reformist, Christian and other trade unions should be of prime importance, that in eradicating the hitherto neglectful attitude toward it, the Communists should increase the struggle to win the masses under the influence of these unions, and should also use every opportunity to win over separate unions and links of the trade union apparatus".

For a long time actual, everyday practice went in quite the opposite direction. Whereas the Party formerly overestimated a certain exit of the masses from the reformist trade unions, of recent years it has underestimated the return of the masses into these unions and the possibility of struggling for elective posts inside the trade union. Our comrades frequently limited themselves to futile efforts to legalize the

Left unions, while the reformist unions continued to grow in strength. The united front campaign is making the change. The work in the reformist trade unions has considerably moved ahead, although all opportunities for work have not been exploited by far.

Thanks to the campaign to unite the trade unions on a concrete platform of struggle and trade union democracy, the initiative in connection with class unity in the trade union movement and its defense from fascist unification has now come into our hands. The Left trade unions are gaining vitality. Several reformist unions have accepted our platform of unity.

However, the recruiting campaign into the trade unions directly threatened with unification has not yet been properly developed. The success of this campaign will decide to a considerable extent the strength of resistance of the working class. The rejection of our recruiting platform by reformist bureaucrats cannot be any reason for ceasing to recruit in individual unions for the struggle for the platform we have put forward.

Our activity both in the Left and in the reformist trade unions will be of decisive importance. The instructions of the Sixth Comintern Congress remain wholly in force, concerning the fact that Communists should carry on stubborn work inside the trade unions in order to win the authority of experienced organizers of the struggle on behalf of the everyday, partial demands of the working masses, the authority of the skillful leaders of strike struggles.

The experience of the strike movement has made clear the growing importance of the reformist trade unions. On the one hand, the trade union masses and activists connected with them are being more and more extensively drawn into the struggle, on the other hand, the reformist chiefs are adopting extremely flexible tactics in the sphere of sabotage, restricting the size of mass strikes, and leading these strikes to defeat. Therefore, in the tactics they adopt during strikes, the Communists and Left workers should bear the following points in mind:

1. In developing the struggle among the organized and unorganized masses, the Communists should try to draw whole trade unions together with their executives into the struggle. The main attention should be concentrated on questions of struggle, on the demands, and on the slogans of struggle.

2. The Communists recognize the trade union leadership in organizing the struggle and assist to the utmost those executives of trade unions who actually carry on the fight. Communists consider that the most expedient form of leadership which ensures success is the method of strike committees, elected by the masses and closely connected with them. Communists always seek to create organs of this kind. These mass organs (strike committees, commissions, etc.) lead the struggle in close contact with the executive organ of the union, if it takes part in the struggle.

3. If it has not been possible to get these forms of leadership for the strike, and if the trade union executive leads it with the help of other organs, Communists take part also in these organs, even if they

are in a minority, and activize the masses and draw them into leadership of the struggle, seeking to create mass organs and striving to get the support of the majority of the workers for their own proposals and slogans.

4. In the case of sabotage or betrayal, the Communists put organs elected by the masses in the place of the trade union executive organ, striving to ensure that the rank and file trade union organizations, the activists, and whole sections of the union take part in the mass leadership of the strike, and striving to organize a new executive.

5. The work of the trade union Left opposition must be brought more determinedly than ever before into the reformist and other unions. Groups of the trade union Left inside the reformist and fascist trade unions should become the nuclei of a broad trade union opposition.

Our tactics towards the fascist trade unions should provide for the following four points:

1. Communists should use all their efforts to counteract the formation and extension of the network of these unions, by organizing a united front and bringing into it all the reformist trade unions. 2. Where the fascist trade unions are mass organizations, the Communists should carry on a struggle inside of them to win over the masses, on behalf of the electoral system in connection with all official positions, against all forms of compulsion and terror. 3. Where the fascist trade unions have become a predominant force, the Communists should transfer the center of gravity of their work into these unions. 4. Any question of leaving the fascist trade unions can only be raised if the majority of the membership has joined the ranks of class opposition and the breakdown of the union is inevitable. It is essential first and foremost to organize a broad mass struggle against repressions. Transfer into the corresponding Left or reformist trade union should take place in an organized fashion.

It is time that the work in every mass fascist union be properly organized. The network of fascist unions is beginning to cover all the most important branches of industry. In making preparations to bring about the fascist unification of trade unions on a national scale, the government is making somewhat successful attempts, especially in Upper Silesia, at "voluntary" unification of the trade unions where mass fascist unions exist. While making a united front with the reformist trade unions and conducting a struggle against any form of unification, we should at the same time create points of struggle in all branches of the fascist unions. The fact that the trade union Left opposition has been successful in getting possession of two branches of the fascist miners' union in Upper Silesia shows that there are opportunities of mass revolutionary work inside the fascist trade unions. *Without the work being approached in this way, it is impossible to organize a successful struggle of the masses of the workers in war industries and the industries catering for war.*

Simultaneously with the consolidation of the united proletarian front, the Polish Communist Party should not only popularize, but

also create, organize, the *anti-fascist national front of the toiling masses.* Through the struggle for their everyday needs, for demands which correspond to the interests of the workers, the exploited peasants, the toiling intelligentsia and the urban poor, the Communist Party should lead the broad masses of the people into the struggle against the government of starvation, terror and war, against the fascist constitution, for land without compensation, against national oppression, against anti-Soviet pacts with German fascism, in defense of the U.S.S.R. In the period of the most tremendous unemployment, there should be a solid struggle of the rural and urban proletariat together with the village poor, against forced labor ("sharvarkov"). The best form of organizing the struggle is that of joint committees of workers and peasants.

The government tactics are first and foremost to prevent the wave of big battles of the proletariat from coinciding with the wave of mass riots of the peasants. In order to successfully make new attacks against the working class, the government is trying to calm the peasant masses with all sorts of promises and even to set these masses against the proletariat with their slogan "improve the living conditions of the village at the expense of the town". By means of subtle deception, the ruling fascists are also trying to convert the masses of the peasantry into cannon fodder.

This being so, the more rapidly must we organize the anti-fascist front of toilers of town and village, under the guidance of the proletariat. We should draw the mass organizations of the "People's Party", which are swinging to the Left, into the united front of struggle of the toiling peasantry by creating a network of peasant united front committees, with the participation in these committees of the poor and middle peasant activists. Our organizations are making only the first successful steps in the adoption of united front methods in the village.

The process of differentiation of the peasantry into the strata of kulaks which is growing stronger and the impoverishing millions, together with the overwhelming majority of the middle peasants, which process is deepening as a result of the agrarian crisis and the policy of fascism, should not hide from us the fact that our prop in the village is the agricultural proletariat and the village poor, that the vacillations of the middle peasants can be made use of by the landlord-kulak bloc. The more extensively we draw the ruined middle peasants into the movement, the more must we politically activize the agricultural proletariat and the village poor.

It is essential to organize a broad front of the masses of the people against national oppression, against Polish occupation, against fascism. It is necessary to get mass support for the national liberation struggle from among the Polish proletariat, who should be firmly convinced that there can be no freedom of peoples who oppress other peoples. While patiently eradicating all nationalist prejudices among the masses, we must not make any concessions whatsoever to counter revolutionary bourgeois nationalism.

Under the slogan of a united front of struggle between the working class and the toiling masses, the Communist Party launched its May Day campaign, striving to convert the First of May into a mighty united front demonstration. Our proposal to all Socialist Parties and trade unions to organize joint May Day demonstrations was of this nature. All the efforts of our organizations were directed towards making May First a day of solidarity of the proletariat, who lead in the national anti-fascist front.

* * *

What are the chief conclusions to be drawn from the experience of the development of the united front?

The chief conclusion is that the correct tactics in themselves do not yet guarantee that the struggle will take on the necessary dimensions. The question is decided by the singleness of purpose and firmness of the whole of the Party, the enthusiasm and deep conviction felt in all its links that "there are no fortresses which the Bolsheviks cannot take" (Stalin).

It is the constant duty of Communists to raise the class consciousness of the masses, to help the Social-Democratic workers to make the transition to class positions, to the side of Communism. Only then will the united front tactic be linked up with our revolutionary strategy.

The idea of storming, which is becoming ripe in the minds of the masses, demands that the Leninist strategic plan should penetrate deeply into their consciousness, the plan that had its victorious embodiment in the Great October Revolution—the plan for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat in alliance with the exploited peasantry and toiling masses of oppressed peoples.

The Question of Fascism and Capitalist Decay*

By R. PALME DUTT

IN a recent issue of *The Communist International* Comrade De Leov has raised one or two questions of fascism for discussion in connection with my book on *Fascism and Social Revolution.* This contribution is very welcome, as these questions need to be more fully discussed. In particular, his contribution raises two questions of interest:

1. The question of capitalist "decay"; the meaning of Lenin's definition of imperialism as "decaying capitalism"; the role of fascism as a phenomenon of an advanced stage of this process in the period of the general crisis of capitalism; and, in particular, the role of fascism as a retrograde factor in relation to the development of the productive forces.

2. The question of the "inevitability" of the victory of Communism over capitalism and fascism, and the correct understanding of this inevitability is not automatic, not mechanical, but dependent on the human factor.

Both these basic conceptions of my book are brought into question by Comrade De Leov.

It should be explained that the general aim of my book on fascism was to analyze fascism on the basis of the whole present stage of capitalist development, following and carrying forward Lenin's analysis of imperialism to the present stage, and showing in what sense fascism represents an extreme phenomenon of this process of capitalism in decay, whose guiding laws were already analyzed by Lenin.

For this purpose it was essential to show the increasing intensity of the conflict between the productive forces and the existing social forms of capitalism, which is characteristic of the process of decaying capitalism. The intensification of this conflict to the point of the first world war and the beginning of the world revolution since 1917 constitutes the general crisis of capitalism or the period of capitalist downfall. Within this period fascism represents the desperate attempt of the doomed capitalist class to maintain its power and overcome the contradictions by extreme violent means, and thus to maintain the existing social forms at the expense of the development of the forces of production, in particular: (1) to throttle the class struggle by suppression of all working class organizations; (2) to overcome the economic contradictions by active state intervention, so-called "planning", subsidies, restrictions of production and trade, etc.; (3) to overcome the inner contradictions of the bourgeoisie by the unification of a single govern-

* An answer to Comrade De Leov.

mental party replacing the older political parties and divisions; (4) to overcome the international contradictions by intensified organization for war and world conquest.

The question now arises: (1) whether it is correct to analyze fascism in this way as an expression of an extreme stage of conflict between the shackling capitalist forms and the productive forces; (2) whether it is correct on this basis to show that the prolonged rule of fascism, if this were possible, if the dialectics of development did not in fact make it impossible, would inevitably mean the downward movement of society, not only culturally, but also materially in the level of technique and production; and whether the first germs of such downward tendencies have not already begun to appear in the development of modern world capitalism, in contrast to the upward movement of the Soviet Union; (3) whether it is correct in consequence to present in the sharpest possible form the "alternatives" confronting present society between the basically downward capitalist line and the upward socialist line, and whether such a presentment of "alternatives" is incompatible with the inevitability of the ultimate victory of Communism.

These are the underlying issues involved in Comrade De Leov's criticism.

In order to answer these questions it is necessary to take in order the successive stages of the argument.

First, is it correct to state that the policies of fascism (both the policies of the countries of fascist dictatorship, and those policies like the Roosevelt emergency measures, etc., which we describe as "fascist" in character) are, basically and taken as a whole, retrograde in character and in conflict with the development of the productive forces, even though this basic retrograde character does not exclude particular rapid growths of production for temporary phases or in particular branches?

There can be no question that this is correct; since fascism is only a particular form of modern monopoly capitalism under certain conditions, and the whole of monopoly capitalism is in fact a *fetter* on the development of the productive forces, such that the most general characterization of monopoly capitalism is decaying capitalism, and *increasingly* decaying capitalism.

> "The monopolist form of capital increasingly develops the elements of parasitical degeneration, decay and decline of capitalism. . . . Monopoly capital reveals a tendency to retard the development of the forces of production." (*Program of the Communist International.*)

> "Like all monopoly, this capitalist monopoly infallibly gives rise to a tendency to stagnation and decay." (Lenin, *Imperialism*, Chapter VIII.)

> "The basis of the increase in technical decay in the post-war years is the general retarding of the growth of capitalist production." (Mendelsen, *New Material to Lenin's "Imperialism"*— quoted by De Leov.)

All this is familiar and not open to dispute.

Second, is it correct to state that the most modern policies of monopoly capitalism, expressed with especial clearness and sharpness in the policies of fascism (again taken in the widest sense, as above), reveal a *strengthening of these decay-tendencies*, of tendencies to obstruct and arrest technical progress and the development of the productive forces?

This is certainly correct in the light of the facts of modern world capitalism; and no particular examples of acceleration in this or that branch or for particular short-lived phases can contradict this general law of the dominant character of modern capitalism as being constituted by the increasing tendencies to decay, degeneration and decline, and not by the tendencies to new advance, ever greater expansion and new blooming, as in the Social-Democratic theories. Both tendencies can be traced in particular phases and situation; but *the tendencies to decay, the retrograde tendencies continually grow stronger than before, and the tendenceis to advance grow weaker than before.* ("The monopolist form of capital *increasingly* develops the elements of parasitical degeneration, decay and decline of capitalism"—*C. I. Program.*)* And fascism is precisely a sharp and intensified expression of this process, and a direct factor in carrying it forward.

In order to see more clearly the character and significance of this process, compare the elements of "decay" noted by Lenin twenty years ago, on the basis of the facts of imperialism before the World War, and the enormous further development of these elements of decay today. Lenin noted as particular evidence of decay:

1. Parasitism and the growth of the rentier and "rentier-State";
2. The beginning of "the economic possibility of slowing down technical progress", as instanced in trusts buying up inventions in order to suppress them.

Today after twenty years we are able to note as further features carrying this process forward:

1. Large-scale state-organized destruction of the productive forces and restriction of production;
2. Increased resistance to technical development and non-utilization of inventions, except in the military sphere, developing even into a widespread ideological hostility to inventions beginning to find expression in governmental, scientific, business and economic circles;

* Care should be taken to distinguish this analysis of the increasing tendencies to decay in modern capitalism from the theory of "permanent crisis" which Comrade De Leov incorrectly attributes to me through a misapprehension. He bases this charge on a passage, written in 1933, which, in accordance with international analysis at that time, ascribes the upward movement of 1933 to factors of war preparation, inflation and emergency state measures of a war type. But delays in publication till the summer of 1934 (which enabled certain new sections to be added without changing the other older material) led to this passage appearing at a time when Comrade Stalin's definition of the "peculiar type of depression" had given the correct analysis. This passage has of course been corrected in subsequent editions.

3. Development of the anti-scientific and anti-cultural campaign, cutting down of education, burning of books—also a form of destruction of the productive forces;

4. Chronic large-scale mass unemployment of a type previously unknown—again a deterioration and destruction of the productive forces;

5. Devotion of an increasing proportion of the productive forces to non-productive purposes connected with war preparation.

All these phenomena of present day capitalism, which receive their sharpest expression in fascism, are of the greatest significance for the process of increasing decay that is taking place.

Against this picture of present day capitalism in increasing decay, with fascism as at once an expression of this process and an accelerating factor, Comrade De Leov's sole counter-argument from the world of facts—that Italian Fascism after thirteen years has not shattered Italian economy—is hardly an adequate argument or on the level of the real issues, any more than, for example, the old Social-Democratic argument of American prosperity in the nineteen-twenties "disproved" the general crisis of capitalism, or the fact that Hitler-Germany has entered its third year with a diminished unemployment "disproves" the thesis of the Communist International that Hitler is leading Germany to economic catastrophe.

Comrade De Leov quotes the Italian example in order to show—what is not in dispute—that fascism represents the policy of large-scale capital, and not the revolt of petty bourgeois policies against large-scale capital, that the petty bourgeois propaganda of fascist ideology against large-scale capital is only demagogy, contrary to the practice. This is elementary, and is already pointed out a score of times in my book, where the petty bourgeois propaganda against large-scale capital and advanced technique is constantly referred to with sneers as "infantile propaganda" (p. 50), exploited by finance capital to "befog" the masses, and exactly contrary to the practice. Comrade De Leov, however, in his anxiety to expose this "infantile propaganda", fails to see the deeper issue raised in my book, which is a more serious and difficult issue, *viz.*, in what direction the policy of large-scale capital is developing under the conditions of increasing decay, how the ever larger-scale potential productive forces beat against the barriers of the restricted monopolist areas (example from the technical journal, the *Automobile Engineer*, on the impossibility of using economically some of the most advanced high-production machinery save in the Soviet Union), how the consequent intensified conflict to enlarge the monopolist areas leads to actual increased restriction and limitation, and how in this way the policies of large-scale capital, in spite of themselves, begin to show the first signs of undermining the basis of large-scale technique, thus carrying to a still further stage the process of decay. Germs of this process—only germs so far, but very significant germs—can be traced in the example already quoted from the *Automobile Engineer* (pp. 1-3),

in the gigantic organized restriction schemes without parallel in previous economic history (pp. 43-48), in the experimental anti-machine legislation in certain non-strategic industries in fascist Germany (cigar-making and glass-blowing, pp. 52-53), in the Philadelphia substitution of hand labor for machinery (only municipal, p. 52), in the American drive to subsistence agriculture, in the British unemployed centers for teaching skilled industrial workers handicraft, and in the British drive to settle the surplus city workers in small-scale agriculture. All these decay-symptoms are drawn from the objective realities of the present day policies of imperialism, and not from the petty bourgeois "infantile propaganda" which Comrade De Leov appears to see alone as the problem.

Certainly, the correct analysis of these symptoms within the total process of world capitalist development raises many difficulties, of which the present writer is strongly aware. If the process of capitalist decay were a simple straight line, there would be no need of Marxist science to discern the inner tendencies, which would be obvious to the empirical observer. But Comrade De Leov appears to overlook these new problems of interest in the most recent developments of imperialism, which require further analysis, and remains rather on the level of simply exposing the petty bourgeois "infantile propaganda" of fascist demagogy, a question which has already been settled and hardly requires further discussion. Lenin noted the tendencies of decay as the *main*, decisive, *defining* characteristic of monopoly capitalism, and added the proviso that this decay should not be misunderstood as "excluding" the "possibility of rapid growth" of particular "branches of production", "strata of the bourgeoisie" or "individual countries". Comrade De Leov places in the forefront the *proviso* with regard to the "possibility of rapid growth" within the general process of decay, but fails to give equal attention to the *main definition* and to consider carefully the significance of Lenin's denoting the decay-tendencies as the "distinctive characteristics" of monopoly capitalism. If, then, we wish to carry forward Lenin's analysis of imperialism today on the basis of twenty years' further working out of its inner tendencies, we need to look first and foremost for the stage reached in the further working out of what Lenin designated as the "distinctive characteristics" of imperialism—the tendencies to decay.

We come now to the third question which follows from the other two. If these signs of increasing tendencies to decay are seen in present day capitalism, and are most strongly expressed in fascism, is it correct and permissible, for purposes of theoretical analysis, *not as prediction*, to prolong hypothetically the line of these decay-tendencies, in order to show where they would reach, if continued unbroken in a straight line, that is, if the dialectics of development and struggle did not in fact make such ultimate working out impossible?

On one condition this is not only permissible, but is of the greatest importance for our agitation and propaganda, in order to awaken realization to the significance of these decay-tendencies and the urgent necessity of the socialist revolution. The one condition is that the real dialectics of the situation must be simultaneously shown, the real counter-forces of the increasing contradictions generated by this development,

which make inevitable the real ultimate outcome to be, not the indefinite prolongation of the capitalist decay, but the victory of the socialist revolution.

Is this condition carried out in my book? Yes. In every case of the theoretical analysis of the line of the decay-tendencies, to show the meaning of that line and where it is tending, it is again and again pointed out to weariness that such an analysis is hypothetical, in order to awaken realization of the meaning of these tendencies, and that the actual dialectical process will necessarily lead to a different outcome. This is particularly the case with the tenth chapter, on "The Essence of Fascism—the Organization of Social Decay", which is the main chapter dealing with this analysis and which is covered with warning sentences to show the abstract hypothetical character of such an analysis and to guard against misunderstanding. These repeated warning sentences are overlooked by Comrade De Leov.*

It is in this chapter that occurs the quotation of an imaginative picture of capitalist society falling into extreme decay and break-up from the petty bourgeois Socialist, Scott Nearing, whose theories are criticized elsewhere in the book. This picture is expressly declared to be undialectical and impossible of realization; but it is quoted as a valuable stimulus to imaginative realization of where the line of imperialist decay would ultimately reach, if it had free run, if it did not meet with resistance, and what would therefore constitute the only "alternative" to the socialist revolution (to this question of presentment of the issue in the form of "alternatives" we shall return in a moment). Comrade De Leov finds this use of a basically incorrect imaginative picture by a petty bourgeois Socialist impermissible. For answer on this point, reference may be made to Lenin's use in his *Imperialism* (Chapter VIII) of a basically incorrect imaginative hypothetical picture by the "Social Liberal" Hobson, whose theories are criticized elsewhere in his book. Hobson draws in very graphic terms a hypothetical future picture of a Western Europe turned completely parasitic, after the fashion of the Riviera, with only wealthy rentiers, their professional retainers and tradesmen, personal servants and workers in light industry and transport, while all heavy industry and food production would have been transferred to the colonies; "the main arterial industries would have disappeared, the staple foods and manufactures flowing in as tribute from Asia and Africa". The picture is of course basically incorrect, and only of value for theoretical analysis in hypothetical form to show the significance of the tendency of parasitism, if worked out to its logical extreme. What is the comment of Lenin on this picture which he quotes at length? Does he denounce the basically false assumptions underlying this hypothetical "picture of the future" from the Social Liberal Hobson, proclaim its impossibility, insist on the inevitability of Socialism, etc.? On the contrary, he says quite simply:

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* It is, however, true that the expression "final alternative" on pp. 228-9 is open to misunderstanding, as Comrade De Leov's criticism has shown, although the context should have made the line of the thought clear (*i.e.*, that it is the logical "final alternative" which the supporter of the existing decaying order and opponent of revolution is thereby choosing as his preference).

"Hobson is quite right. *If* the forces of imperialism do not meet with resistance, they will lead to what he has described."

Finally, to come to the question of "inevitability". Since the victory of Communism is inevitable, how is it possible to present the issue confronting mankind today as if it were a question of two "alternatives", as if there were two alternative paths before society to choose from, "Either . . . Or", "Either the downward capitailst line or the upward socialist line", "Either to throttle still further the productive forces or to release them", "Either down to destruction with capitalism or forward with socialism", etc., etc.?

Here is a dilemma for the formal logician to break his head on, but it ought not to cause difficulty to a dialectician.

It is the very heart of the revolutionary Marxist understanding of inevitability that it has nothing in common with the mechanical fatalism of which our opponents incorrectly accuse us. The inevitability of revolutionary Marxism is realized in practice through living human wills given social conditions, consciously reacting to those conditions, and consciously choosing their line between alternative possibilities seen by them within the given conditions. "Man makes his own history, but not out of the whole cloth."

We are able scientifically to predict the inevitable outcome, because we are able to analyze the social conditions governing the consciousness, and the line of development of those social conditions. We are able to analyze the growth of contradictions, and the consequent accumulation of forces generating ever greater revolutionary consciousness and will of the exploited majority, until they become strong enough to overcome all obstacles and conquer. We are able with scientific precision to lay down the certainty that every failure, every choosing of an incorrect path, can only be temporary, because the outcome can in no wise solve the contradictions generating the revolutionary consciousness and will, and these contradictions therefore can only lead to renewed and intensified struggle, up to final victory. This process is inevitable. (But what of the difficulty, asks Comrade De Leov, that, if the ultimate working out of the process of capitailst decay to its logical—not dialectical—conclusion would mean the increasing destruction of the productive forces, then this would mean the destruction of the premises for the proletarian victory and for Communism? The answer is the same in principle as with regard to the theory of ultra-imperialism; hypothetically, logically, the extreme prolongation of the line of capitalist decay would lead to this conclusion; but in reality the increasing contradictions generated by this process will lead to the victory of the world revolution before any such stage can be reached).

But the human consciousness of the participants in this inevitable process is not the consciousness of automatic cogs in a predetermined mechanism. It is the consciousness of living active human beings, revolting against intolerable evils, deliberately with thought and passion choosing an alternative, doing and daring all to achieve a new world, and ready to give their lives in the fight because of their intense desire

by such action to help to make the achievement of the goal possible. This fighting revolutionary consciousness is by no means bowing to an inevitable outcome, but is most actively seeking to tip the balance and make certain by action the victory of one alternative and the defeat of another alternative. Every revolutionary worth his salt acts in every stage of the fight as if the whole future of the revolution depended on his action. And in presenting the issues of the present stage to the masses today we present them not at all as placid inevitabilities to contemplate like the movement of the stars, but as gigantic issues of fight with the whole future of humanity at stake, calling for the utmost determination, courage, sacrifice and invincible will to conquer.

This is the essence of the revolutionary Marxist understanding of inevitability, and is one of the central issues of division between Bolshevism and Menshevism.

It is precisely the passive Menshevik Social-Democratic view which seen the historical process as an automatic mechanical inevitability, independent of human will and action, *i.e.*, of human conscious choice between alternatives, as itself a historical factor, which is incapable of seeing the enormous creative power of the masses in action to change the course of history, which sneers at the urgency and insistence typified in Lenin's declaration that "delay means death", and thus inevitably leads to passivity and impotence in the name of a philistine distortion of Marxism. This outlook is dangerous and needs to be actively fought. The alternative error, of too sharply presenting the alternatives in order to awaken revolutionary consciousness and will and determination to fight and conquer and prevent the victory of the class enemy, is by comparison less dangerous, so long as the theoretical foundations of the inevitable ultimate victory of Communism are correctly understood.

The Fifteenth Anniversary of the Onslaught of the Lords of Poland on the Land of the Soviets

By S. K.

"THINGS are moving towards a new imperialist war", was the conclusion drawn by Comrade Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., as the result of a careful analysis of the prolonged crisis of world capitalism, a conclusion which remains in full force at the present day. What is more, the facts of the policy pursued by the imperialists during the last few years, whether published or concealed to some extent under a wordy shell of pacifism, show that the preparations for this new war, and particularly for war against the U.S.S.R., are proceeding at a heightened speed. In this connection, it will not be amiss to recall what Comrade Stalin said of the plans for a new anti-Soviet imperialist war and of the prospects facing this new intervention.

> ". . . the imperialist plan to smash the U.S.S.R., divide up its territory and profit at its expense. . . . Let us assume that these gentlemen pass from words to deeds. What can come of it? There can hardly be any doubt that such a war would be a very dangerous war for the bourgeoisie. It would be a very dangerous war, not only because the peoples of the U.S.S.R. would fight to the very death to preserve the gains of the revolution; it would be a very dangerous war for the bourgeoisie also because such a war will be waged not only at the fronts but also in the rear of the enemy. The bourgeoisie need have no doubt that the numerous friends of the working class of the U.S.S.R. in Europe and Asia will be sure to strike a blow in the rear at their oppressors who commenced a criminal war against the fatherland of the working class of all countries. . . . One such war against the U.S.S.R. has been waged, already, if you remember, fifteen years ago. . . . You know how it ended. It ended with the invaders being driven from our country and the establishment of revolutionary Councils of Action in Europe. It can hardly be doubted that a second war against the U.S.S.R. will lead to the complete defeat of the aggressors, to revolution in a number of countries in Europe and in Asia, and to the overthrow of the bourgeois landlord governments in these countries." (Stalin, *Report to the Seventeenth Party Congress, C.P.S.U.*)

One of the most serious stages in this war—the attack of imperialist Poland on the land of the Soviets—which took place fifteen years ago, should be specially remembered at the present time. The advance of the Polish army, inspired by the Entente, led to the formation of revolutionary "Councils of Action" in Europe, as Comrade Stalin aptly reminded the imperialist plunderers.

Is is useful to call this to mind now for the further reason that the ruling imperialist groups in Poland have not yet learned the lessons of 1920 as they should have done. As at that time, they are still leaning in the direction of the most aggressive elements, those that are most hostile towards the U.S.S.R.—in the present instance towards fascist Germany, on whose banners there is openly inscribed "War Against the U.S.S.R." The likes of Studnilsky, Matskewitch, Sapiega and Radziwill are more and more frequently and louder howling about the need for an alliance between Poland and Germany to undertake war jointly against the Soviet Union.

Fifteen years ago, Poland, which was then still a very young state, owing its very existence to the revolutionary wave in Europe and primarily to the socialist revolution in Russia, began to carry on an active imperialist policy against the land of the Soviets. At the very outset the Polish bourgeoisie made efforts to seize White Russia and especially the Ukraine, with its grain, iron ore and its exit to the Black Sea, and to convert them into its colonies.

The Entente also spurred Poland on to undertake the struggle against the Soviet Union. When the imperialists consented to the formation of the independent state of Poland, they had in mind the necessity of forming a cordon in the East of Europe, a barrier between socialist Russia and capitalist Europe. They regarded Poland as their spearhead, as the foremost detachment of imperialist Europe against Bolshevism.

Like the other states that were established in Central Europe after the imperialist war, Poland was dependent on the Entente at that time and was forced to carry out its will. For this reason, from the outset, when Poland was formed as an independent state, it stubbornly refused to conclude peace with the land of the proletarian dictatorship, despite the insistent and repeated peace proposals made by the Soviet government.

The first proposals made to the Polish government to establish normal relations, including the recognition of the independence of Poland, were made by the Soviet government in October, 1918. Following this came a number of other peace proposals, but all were rejected by the Polish imperialist government, whose leader, Pilsudski (who died on May 12, 1935), admitted that "as far back as 1918 our aim was war with the Soviets, irrespective of everything" (see Pilsudski's *1920*, published by the *Military Gazette*, 1926, p. 152). To give Pilsudski his due, he carried this aim unswervingly into practice.

His comrade in the Polish Socialist Party, the Foreign Minister Vasilievsky, made the following statement in one of his notes to the Soviet Government:

> "The Government of the Polish Republic finds it impossible at the present moment to enter into direct contact with the Russian Soviet Government, and fears that in the near future it will have, by armed force, to defend the inviolability of the territory inhabited by the Polish nation from the invasion of the troops of the Russian Soviet Government."

As no one was threatening the integrity of Poland, it was plain that

the Pilsudski clique hoped by such methods to justify the struggle that was being developed against the Soviet government, in the eyes of the toiling masses. The activization of the Entente and of its puppets, Kolchak, Denikin, etc., in its turn helped the anti-Soviet work of Poland. It is sufficient to call to mind the dastardly murder of the Russian Red Cross delegation, led by the old revolutionary Comrade Veselovski, a murder inspired by the leaders of the P.P.S.

It is quite natural that Poland took a very direct part in the offensive developed by world imperialism in 1919 against the land of the Soviets.

In the spring of 1919, the Entente organized its first drive against the land of the Soviets. As Comrade Stalin expressed it,

> "... this was a combined drive, for it provided for a simultaneous offensive by Kolchak, Denikin, Poland, Yudenitch and mixed Anglo-Russia units in Turkestan and Archangelsk, though the main line of attack was from the side of Kolchak." ("The New Drive of the Entente Against Russia", *Pravda*, No. 111, 1920.)

The other parties to this drive, including Poland, played an auxiliary role, their operations being intended to deflect part of the Red Army away from the line of the main attack. It was during the first drive of the Entente that the Polish imperialists succeeded in seizing Vilna (April 19, 1919) and crushing the Soviet government in Lithuania.

The first drive of the Entente was defeated.

> "The second drive of the Entente," says Comrade Stalin, "was undertaken in autumn, 1919. This drive was also a combined one, for it had in view a simultaneous offensive by Denikin, Poland, Yudenitch (Kolchak was no longer in the picture). This time the main line of attack was from the south, from the side of Denikin." (*Ibid.*)

By that time, the imperialist elements of Poland were trying to play a leading role in the struggle against Soviet Russia. Churchill, well-known for his championship of intervention against Soviet Russia, tells in his memoirs how those at the head of Poland appealed to the Entente in the middle of 1919 to help Poland to form an army of half a million men to march into Russia and occupy Moscow, threatening, if the reply were unfavorable, to conclude peace with Soviet Russia.

As we see, the Polish imperialists were dreaming of nothing less than the occupation of Moscow. As for the "threat" to make peace, it was a maneuver that was not at all difficult to understand. The smart business men from among the ruling circles of Poland simply wanted to make as good a bargain as possible with the Entente, which at that time was putting its stake on Denikin. Denikin was making a successful advance on Moscow, and it seemed to Churchill that he had no need for the active interference of Poland, that Poland could be kept as a reserve. It was in this spirit that the instructions were given to Poland

> " . . . to keep on doing what they had done so far a few months longer, *i.e.*, to strike at the Bolsheviks on the borders of their

country, without thinking of a serious advance into the heart of Russia." (Churchill.)

Poland was not averse to coming to terms directly with the Russian whiteguards with a view to carrying on a common struggle against the Soviet government. The rulers of Poland were prepared to sell the Polish peasants and workers as cannon fodder if a good price were offered. It is known that in autumn, 1919, one of the members of the Polish military mission made the following statement directly to Denikin: "We can help you, but we want to know in advance what we shall be paid for the blood which we shall have to shed for you". But Denikin, who was at the zenith of his fame and his success, turned down the offer made by the Polish imperialists, and rejected their claims to the independence of the Polish state. It was for this reason that Poland did not offer Denikin the serious support that he had counted on, but did not cease war on the U.S.S.R. It was during the second drive made by the Entente that Poland seized Minsk (August 9, 1919).

When the hopes entertained by the Entente in Denikin and Yudenitch had been smashed by the heroic Red Army under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, and the second drive undertaken by the Entente had also collapsed, Poland began to play first fiddle in the orchestra of the armed forces of the Entente.

After having beaten off the offensive launched by the Entente, the Soviet Republic appealed again and again to Poland to conclude peace. On December 22, 1919, January 28, 1920, February 2, 1920, and finally on March 6, 1920, the highest bodies of the Soviet government—the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee—endorsed the independence of Poland again and again, and reiterated the desire of the people of the land of the Soviets to live at peace with the people of Poland.

In its efforts to secure peace, so as to secure the possibility of directing the enthusiasm and strength of the working class over to socialist construction, the Soviet government was prepared to make far reaching concessions to Poland, and to allow her to retain part of the territory of the Ukraine and White Russia seized by the white-guard Poles.

The Polish government regarded all these statements as some manifestation of weakness (as we know, not only Poland but other imperialist countries also estimated the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. in this way), and replied to them by still further increasing their preparations for a determined onslaught on Soviet territory.

The Entente gave enormous political, financial and purely military support to Poland. Polish forces, led by Pilsudski and with the blessing of the Entente, treacherously marched into Soviet Ukraine on April 25, 1920, cherishing hopes of a march on Moscow. The bourgeois elements of the Ukraine, led by Petlura, traitor to the interests of the Ukranian people, concluded an agreement with Pilsudski on April 21, 1920, according to which the Ukraine became an appendage of, and completely independent of, Poland. Through Petlura, Pilsudski hoped to secure the support of the Ukrainian peasantry. But he did not obtain the help he de-

sired. The toilers of the Ukraine gave the fullest support to the Soviet government and the Bolshevik Party.

The activity of the Polish army, and the confident tone of the Polish press, proved beyond a doubt that Poland felt behind herself the strong support of the countries of the Entente, and that her offensive was but the beginning of another drive of world imperialism against the land of the proletarian dictatorship, the beginning of the third drive of the Entente against Soviet Russia.

> "There is no doubt", wrote Comrade Stalin soon after the invasion of Soviet territory by Polish troops, "that the drive undertaken by Poland against workers' and peasants' Russia is in reality a drive of the Entente. The question is not only that the League of Nations, which is led by the Entente and of which Poland is a member, has evidently endorsed the invasion of Russia by Poland. The main point is that Poland could not, without the help of the Entente, have organized its offensive against Russia, that France above all, as well as England and America, are giving every possible support to Poland in arms, equipment, money and instructors." (Stalin, "The New Drive of the Entente Against Russia", *Pravda*, No. 111, 1920.)

Although, in the first stages Poland acted alone against Russia, Comrade Stalin wrote in the article quoted above:

> "Poland is fighting alone against Russia for the time being. But it would be naive to think that she will remain alone. We have in mind not only the thorough support which the Entente is undoubtedly giving to Poland, but also those military allies of Poland whom the Entente has partly discovered already (for instance, the remnants of Denikin's troops). . . . It is quite possible that the Polish offensive, which at first sight seems to be a gamble, has actually in view a broadly conceived plan for a combined attack to be carried out gradually." (No. 112, 1920.)

Later events proved that Comrade Stalin was completely correct. In June 1920, Wrangel took the offensive at the head of the remnants of Denikin's troops which had been hiding in Crimea. It was soon evident that Poland and Wrangel, as Lenin pointed out, were the two hands of French imperialism, and that the Wrangel front was in essence a continuation of the Polish front.

* * *

Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government had foreseen the Polish offensive. Long before the Polish-Soviet war broke out, Comrade Lenin had demanded from the leaders of the Red Army that the front facing Poland should be strengthened to the maximum degree, and categorically demanded the rapid liquidation of the Wrangel front, so as to leave our hands free in the fight against Poland.

Lenin and Stalin ruthlessly exposed the demobilizatory defeatist sentiments of some of the army commanders led by Trotsky, who stated at the beginning of 1920 that "there is such a big change among the rul-

ing classes of the Entente in favor of recognizing the Soviet Republic, that it is hardly likely that Poland will attack us".

Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin (Stalin was sent to take command of the Southwestern front—at the instructions of the C.C.), the Red Army prepared to inflict a well deserved defeat on the Polish.

In their analysis of the prospects of war with Poland, Lenin and Stalin estimated them as favorable to Soviet Russia. Comparing the situation of the land of the Soviets at home and abroad at the time when war broke out, with the situation during the first two drives made by the Entente in the spring and autumn of 1919, Lenin directly stated that in 1920 only the fragments of the old plan remained. On these grounds, Comrade Lenin stressed the hopelessness of the latest attempt of the imperialists to overthrow the Soviet government.

Comrade Stalin also stressed the point that

> "If the Entente was counting on the success of its third drive against Russia, it was mistaken, for the chances of defeating Russia in 1920 were less, far less, than in 1919." (*Ibid.*)

At the same time Lenin and Stalin repeatedly pointed out that the defeat of the enemy, the complete victory of the Soviet government would only be secured if the entire life of the country were subordinated to the interests of the war.

> "The rule that we observed in all the previous wars", said Lenin, "must be revived again now. . . . This rule is that once matters have gone as far as war, then everything must be subordinated to the interests of the war. The entire internal life of the country must be subordinated to the war, and not the slightest wavering can be permitted in this matter." (*Lenin*, Vol. XXV, p. 261, Russian edition.)

The Party fought ruthlessly against Trotsky and his followers, who put their stake on introducing revolution into Poland from without. They asserted that "the Polish front is a matter of life or death for Soviet Russia", but this was not and could not be a real estimate of the Polish front.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government considered that the principal object of the war was to defend the land of the Soviets against the enemy, as the bulwark, the basis of the world proletarian revolution, and to ensure the conclusion of peace so that the construction of Socialism could be begun. While fighting to carry out these tasks and defending the borders of the U.S.S.R., the Party did everything that could be done in one country to rouse support and develop the revolution in other countries.

After the war was over, Comrade Lenin said:

> "Knowing that the Polish war was closely connected with the whole position of international imperialism, we were prepared to make the greatest possible concessions if only to relieve

the workers and peasants of the burden of the war." (*Lenin*, Vol. XXV, p. 405.)

But since the war was forced on the Soviet state, since Poland was the aggressor, the main task facing the Party and all the toilers of the U.S.S.R. was to defend their country and to ensure the victory of their Red Army.

While engaged in organizing the defense of the proletarian state, and leading the resistance to the latest offensive of the Entente, the Party at the same time examined the degree to which the revolution has ripened in Western Europe, so as, if necessary, to render support to the Western-European proletariat.

The Polish-Soviet war of 1920 could have exerted great influence on the development of the victorious revolution in the West, especially if the Polish workers had converted it into civil war.

> "If Poland has become Soviet", said Lenin, "if the workers of Warsaw had received the help they expected and welcomed, from Soviet Russia, the Versailles Treaty would have been broken, and the whole of the international system gained by the victory over Germany would have collapsed." (Vol. XXV, p. 402.)

* * *

Due to the steps taken by the Party, the Red Army very rapidly organized resistance to the Polish armies and then inflicted a series of stunning counter blows.

In view of the conditions of the locality and in order to ensure better leadership over the troops, the Red Army on the Polish front was divided into two groups. To the north of the Forest Region of White Russia was the Western front, under the command of M. Tukhachevski (now assistant to Comrade Voroshilov, People's Commissar of Defense) and to the south of the Forest Region (in the Ukraine) was the Southwestern front under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, member of the Revolutionary Military Council, and commanded by A. I. Yegorov (now chief of staff of the Red Army).

The heroic First Cavalry Army under Comrades Voroshilov and Budenny was transferred from the Northern Caucasus to reinforce the troops on the Southwestern front. The Party and the government laid a most honorable task on the Cavalry Army, the favorite child of Comrade Stalin, that of dealing the first counter-blow at the Polish army.

On June 5, the Cavalry Army under Voroshilov and Budenny, who were in the front lines of the attacking troops, broke through the Polish front in the vicinity of Zhitomir, thus beginning their heroic march on Lvov (Lemberg), which extended over a period of over two months.

There can be doubt, wrote Comrade Stalin in 1920, while the impressions of the victory of the Cavalry Army were fresh in his memory.

> ". . . that when our cavalry broke through near Zhitomir, this had a decisive effect in breaking the front." (Talk with Comrade Stalin on the Situation on the Polish Front, reprinted in *Pravda*, February 24, 1935.)

THE ATTACK OF THE POLISH ARMY
APRIL-MAY 1920
LENINGRAD
RIGA
KOVNO
VILNA
DANZIG
WARSAW
MINSK
SMOLENSK
MOSCOW
KIEV
KHARKOV
RIVER DNIEPER
LEMBERG (LVOV)

THE COUNTER ATTACK OF THE RED ARMY AND THE RESULTS OF THE WAR WITH POLAND IN 1920
MOSCOW
LENINGRAD
SMOLENSK
RIGA
KOVNO
VILNA
DANZIG
KIEV
RIVER DNEIPER
KHARKOV
UMAN
LEMBERG (LVOV)

On July 4, following the advance of the army on the Southwestern front, the army on the Western front took up the counter-offensive. For almost a month and a half, the army on the Western front moved incessantly to the west, defeating and harrying the troops of the enemy.

In the interests of the defense of the land of the Soviets and to force imperialist Poland to conclude peace, the Red Army was forced to enter Polish territory and to march on Warsaw. The advance detachments of the Red Army approached Warsaw in the middle of August, bringing freedom to the Polish peasants and workers.

In the previously quoted book on the Soviet-Polish war, Pilsudski was forced to admit the tremendous successes of the Red Army, its overwhelming and victorious march on the chief centers of Poland, and the inability of the ruling circles of Poland to organize resistance to the Red troops.

> "Several attempts that I made to organize a blow against Budenny's cavalry led to nothing", Pilsudski admits. "Constant failures were bound to have their effect on the general morale. . . . Panic broke out in places hundreds of kilometers from the front, and sometimes among the supreme command, and penetrated deeper and deeper into the rear. Even the work of the government organs began to crack. An uncertain and wavering pulse could be detected in it. . . . Budenny's cavalry, a new weapon of warfare as far as concerned our troops, unprepared for such fighting, turned into a legendary invincible force." (Pilsudski, *1920.*)

"A legendary, invincible force"—this is what was written by an enemy and not a friend—this was written by Pilsudski! Eventually he was forced to admit bitterly:

> "Thus began the organization of the most dangerous front for me—the internal front." (*Ibid.*)

Such was the influence of the advance of the First Cavalry Army. No less were the results of the advance of the army of the Western front. Pilsudski was forced to admit that:

> ". . . This incessant creeping movement of considerable enemy forces, interspersed from time to time with leaps and movements lasting for weeks, created the impression of something that could not be averted, as if some monstrously heavy carcass were moving irresistibly forward over all obstacles. In such a movement there is something overpowering that beats down the internal powers of people and crowds. I remember my talks at that time. One of the generals with whom I had occasion to speak frequently almost always started his conversation and his reports with the words: 'Oh; What a march!' In his words could be felt both astonishment and bitter helplessness. . . . Under the impression of this onsweeping thundercloud, the government began to tremble, characters began to waver and the hearts of soldiers to soften. I saw the influence of this march everywhere around me. . . . Under the influence of these events,

it became clearer and clearer for our Polish side that in addition to the external front, an internal front was being ever more plainly formed, the strength of which has been the herald of defeat in the history of all wars, and the biggest factor in the loss not of battles but of wars." (*Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.)

The victorious advance of the Red Army caused a mighty revolutionary wave to rise in the various countries of Europe, and menaced the very rule of the capitalists. The big imperialist powers took action to defend bourgeois Poland. A stream of arms, munitions, ammunition and supplies flowed in to the help of the Polish commanders, and skilled military aid was sent. The Foreign Minister of Great Britain, Lord Curzon, sent an ultimatum demanding the stoppage of the advance of Red troops, threatening to dispatch the British navy to Soviet shores.

And then an unheard of thing happened. Millions of workers in Europe rose under the leadership of the Comintern in defense of the land of the Soviets, the fatherland of the world proletariat, and took action against the interventionist plots and plans of their bourgeoisie. They disrupted these plans, hindered and prevented the delivery of munitions, weapons and military supplies.

The Second Congress of the Communist International which opened in July 1920 wrote in its appeal to the workers:

"The task of the workers of all countries is to use all means to prevent the governments of Great Britain, France, America and Italy giving any assistance whatever to the Polish white-guards. . . . Come out into the streets and show our governments that you will not permit any interference in the affairs of Soviet Russia. Stop all work, hold up all traffic if you see that the capitalist cliques in all countries are preparing a new offensive against Soviet Russia in spite of your protest. Do not allow a single train or ship to go to Poland. Show that the solidarity of the proletariat exists in practice and not only in words."

The proletariat of all countries gave a warm response to this appeal made by the Comintern, and self-sacrificingly carried out the decisions of the Comintern.

As in politics, so in war, the offensive is governed by laws. Comrade Stalin gave a splendid definition of the basic laws of attack. In his *Reply to Comrades on Collective Farms*, an article of world historic importance, he emphasizes that:

"An advance without consolidating the positions already captured is an advance doomed to failure. When can an advance be successful, in the military sphere, let us say? When the advancing force does not confine itself simply to moving forward headlong, but tries at the same time to *consolidate* the positions captured, to *regroup* its forces in accordance with the changed circumstances, to *strengthen* the rear and to *bring up* reserves. Why is all this necessary? As a protection against surprises, in order to close up possible breaches in the line of attack, which may happen in every advance, and thus to prepare for complete liquidation of the enemy." (*Leninism*, Vol. II, p. 235.)

The military work of Lenin and Stalin, beginning with their leadership of the October Revolution, provides scores of clear examples of the application of these laws. In 1920 Comrade Stalin was in charge of the southwestern front and particularly of the cavalry army, and he once more gave excellent and unsurpassed examples of proletarian strategy. It was the observation of the laws governing the advance that made it possible for the cavalry army, which was operating against the superior forces of the enemy in the most difficult conditions (in bogs, forests, trenches and other fortifications of the imperialist war period) to gain victory after victory.

Trotsky, who was at the time Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, did not interfere very much in the affairs of the southwestern front. He directed operations from Moscow, without providing reinforcements and supplies for the advancing forces, without giving them the possibility of regrouping their ranks, and at the time when decisive battles were being fought issued his order (No. 203, dated August 14), "Red troops, forward to Warsaw!"

After violating all the laws governing the offensive, and deceiving Lenin as to the true situation on the western front, Trotsky issued his order without making the least provisions for its fulfillment. It was Trotsky and his colleagues who were responsible for the fact that the heroic Red troops arrived at the very gates of Warsaw without arms and ammunition, their forces scattered over big areas and, meeting the fierce resistance of the Polish troops, and the fierce bombardment of the Polish guns, they were forced to make a partial retreat.

At the same time, in the middle of August, the Cavalry Army, which had rested and had accumulated strength as the result of the care shown by Comrade Stalin, began a determined attack on Lvov. The fall of the town was certain. The toilers of Lvov under the leadership of the Communists were preparing to greet the glorious Red cavalry. And it was at this moment that Trotsky, who had now become convinced of the tragic results which had followed from his policy regarding the army on the western front, issued an order for the Cavalry Army to leave Lvov and march northward, to the assistance of the western front.

The Cavalry Army could not have arrived in time to help the army on the western front, both in view of the time and the distance and the conditions under which they were conducting the struggle against the Poles. In the last analysis they would have been incomparably more useful if they had captured Lvov. Comrades Stalin and Voroshilov protested against Trotsky's profoundly mistaken plan of transferring the First Cavalry Army from Lvov to help the western front, which in reality did not produce any effect but merely eased the situation for the Poles near Lvov.

In the *Reply to Comrades on the Collective Farms*, Comrade Stalin wrote:

> "The mistake that the Polish armies made in 1929, if we take only the military side of the matter, was that they ignored this rule. That, among other reasons, is why, having advanced

> headlong to Kiev, they were obliged to retreat in a no less headlong manner to Warsaw. The mistake the Soviet forces made in 1920, again if we take only the military side of the question, was that, in their advance on Warsaw, they repeated the error committed by the Poles." (Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. II, p. 297.)

This mistake, as already mentioned, was the direct result of the adventurist leadership of Trotsky, and was in turn the result of his counter-revolutionary Menshevik theory on the impossibility of the victory of socialism in one country.

It was with the greatest effort that the Party, under the leadership of Lenin, overcame and outlived the consequences of Trotsky's gross mistakes, and carried the war with Poland to a victorious conclusion.

It should be noted that besides the military mistakes made by Trotsky, some mistakes of a political nature were made by the Polish Communists, especially on the national and on the land questions.

There were strong Luxemburgian feelings in the Polish Party, the essence of which was the denial that the national movement and the peasant question possessed any revolutionary importance in the epoch of imperialism.

The Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Soviet government had repeatedly made public announcements both before the Soviet-Polish war and during the war that they recognized the right of the Polish people to self-determination, that they recognized the independence of the Polish republic. The Second Congress of the Comintern stated in its appeal to the workers of the world that if there were not a single soldier on the Polish frontier, there would be no threat to its independence from Soviet Russia.

Lenin and Stalin, taking into account the historically accumulated hostility against Old Russia on the part of the Polish people, foresaw the frenzied chauvinist agitation which the Polish capitalists, landlords, and their lickspittles, the Polish social traitors (of the P.P.S.) and also the Polish priesthood would launch against the U.S.S.R. For this reason they demanded that the chief documents, containing the Soviet principles and setting out the reality and aim of Soviet policy in this war, should be widely distributed among the toilers of Poland. But as the Polish Communists denied the importance of the self-determination of nations and the independence of Poland in the era of imperialism, they naturally neglected to carry on propaganda which would explain the national policy of the Bolshevik Party, the policy of the Soviet government.

A serious mistake was also made in the solution of the agrarian question. As the Polish Communists did not believe in the revolutionary character of the peasants and did not count on them, they did not launch the slogan "the land for the peasants", did not make any effort to give the landlords' estates to the peasants on the territory liberated by the Red Army, did not popularize the slogan of forming Soviets of Peasants' Deputies. The Polish Revolutionary Committee based its cal-

culations only on the farm laborers, while it conducted a policy of neutralization towards the poor and middle peasants. Thanks to these mistakes on the part of the Communist Party of Poland, considerable numbers of toiling peasants and to some extent of workers as well gave way to the chauvinist agitation of the Polish social conciliators and supported the bourgeois government of Poland.

The late Comrade Dzerzhinsky, in his analysis at the end of the war of the political line pursued by the Polish Communists, noted that one of the chief mistakes made by the Polish Communists was that they did not consider it necessary to give the land of the landlords to the peasants, considering that only the agricultural workers should receive these estates.

The Polish Communist Party, as we know, Bolshevized its ranks in subsequent years, owing to the correct leadership of the Communist International. It did away completely with Luxemburgian and also with the Right opportunist sentiments of individual comrades. At the present time it is one of the best fighting sections of the Communist International.

The mistakes of the Polish Communists created additional difficulties for the Red Army in its fight against the Polish forces. But nevertheless they were unable to alter the basic issue of the war, namely, its victorious conclusion by the land of the Soviets. And in reality, the Soviet government was able, in the fires of war, to solve all its chief tasks, namely, peace with Poland, the conditions for the liquidation of Wrangel, the last puppet of the Entente, and the possibility of beginning socialist construction on a broad scale. In addition, in purely territorial respects, the war ended by forcing Poland to relinquish a considerable part of the territory seized by her in the Ukraine and White Russia, including Minsk.

* * *

The experience and lessons of the Polish-Soviet war of 1920 are immeasurably great. They displayed to the whole world the sincerity of the peace policy of the Soviet government, and the profound mistake made by those who regarded this peace policy as a sign of weakness. They showed the tremendous international importance of this war, and confirmed the fact that the proletarian masses of Europe considered the march of the Red Army to the west as the onward march of their own army, the army of their proletarian fatherland. They confirmed the fact that the proletarian land, led by the great Party of Lenin and Stalin that had been steeled in struggles, was strong and invincible.

It is sufficient to compare the strength and might of the land of the Soviets, and also that of its potential enemies today, fifteen years after the war of 1920, with what they were at that time, to realize how much the U.S.S.R. has grown and strengthened, how greatly the danger of a catastrophe has increased for those who attempt to attack the first proletarian state in the world.

The lessons of the war of 1920, when examined in the light of the present-day international and internal position of the U.S.S.R., give rise to joy, pride and confidence in the victory of the toilers of the whole world, marching under the banner of the Comintern, under the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The Fifteenth Anniversary of the "Jolly George"

By HARRY POLLITT

FIFTEEN years have passed since the London dockers changed history by refusing to load the steamer *Jolly George* with munitions for Poland on May 10, 1920.

It is worthwhile in the present grave international situation, to recall this power of the workers to strike decisive blows against the warmongers, by stating a few of the facts surrounding the stopping of the *Jolly George*.

The spring of 1920 saw the Russian Revolution facing its greatest crisis. All the imperialist powers were in one form or another supplying money and munitions to the border states to assist them in their attacks upon Soviet Russia. The Civil War was at its height. Japan was sending munitions and forces to Siberia. Rumania was reported to be making a military alliance with Poland, who was being supplied with huge quantities of munitions by Britain and America. Finland was carrying out aggressive actions against the Soviet Union. In general, the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia were literally fighting for their very lives.

The hopes of the imperialists, and especially the British imperialists led by Lloyd George, Bonar Law and Winston Churchill, rested chiefly in Poland. The usual denials were given in Parliament about the support that was being given to Poland by the Coalition Government, but among the British workers great indignation was being expressed at the policy of this government, together with a growing admiration for the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia in so valiantly defending *their* country against so many enemies on so many fronts.

For two years around the London docks, meetings were regularly being held in support of the Russian Revolution under the slogan: "Hands off Russia". These meetings were chiefly organized by the Workers' Socialist Federation, and the Hands Off Russia Movement.

During 1919 and the early months of 1920, hardly a Sunday night passed but what the late Comrade Mrs. Walker, Sylvia Pankhurst, myself and the late Comrade Bouvier, did not hold a meeting outside the East India Dock gates. Sylvia Pankhurst was also very active, especially in publishing leaflets for distribution in the docks. Hardly a day passed but what the little group working with me at that time in the shipyards in Poplar did not drop leaflets down the ships' holds, paste them on the quay sides, in the lavatories, calling for support for the Russian workers, and asking London shipyard workers and dockers not to load ships or repair ships that were meant for use against Soviet Russia.

I remember very well how the famous leaflet written by Comrade Lenin, *An Appeal to the Toiling Masses*, for support of the Russian Revolution, and which had been declared an illegal leaflet, was carefully hidden in our mattresses in the house where we lodged in Poplar, and copies regularly taken into the docks for distribution.

It was not an easy job to get strike action taken. I recall how in April, 1920, in the Blackwall Shipyard, big barges were being refitted to carry munitions for Poland, and we were unable to get strike action taken on the job. I was ordered to go and work on these barges. I refused and got sacked. Although I had much influence on the job, the workers did not consider that I was taking the right action. "How do you know these barges are for use of the Polish government?" was the question constantly being asked. This particular job was being paid at very high rates. The workers were ordered in to work one Sunday morning. We stood outside the shipyard distributing leaflets and urging the workers not to finish the job. We did not succeed.

Then in the last days of April, 1920, big cases and packages began to appear on the dockside, openly labeled: "Munitions for Poland". We intensified our propaganda, and were frantic that so far we had failed to get action. Meetings in the streets, at the dock gates, stickybacks all over the docks were pasted "Hands Off Russia, Refuse to Load Munitions".

Comrade Mrs. Walker worked like a Trojan. But on May Day, 1920, the Danish steamer *Neptun* left the East India Dock for the nearest port for Poland, with a cargo which included eight large aeroplanes.

Shortly after, another small steamer left the East India Dock, and amongst other cargo carried two heavy guns and six aeroplanes. When this ship reached Gravesend, two firemen refused to work the ship unless these munitions were taken off. They were backed by the dock hands, and while heated discussions took place on the ship, she was struck by another ship, and sustained such damage as to cause her to be towed into dock again.

News of this incident leaked out and caused much discussion. The dockers working the East India Dock, where the *Jolly* boats were loaded, sent a deputation to Ernest Bevin and to Fred Thompson of the Dockers' Union as it was then, and received assurances that if they refused to load any munitions for Poland they would receive the full support of this union.

In the first week of May, 1920, coming home through the docks, we noticed The *Jolly George*, and on the quay side, cases of munitions openly marked for Poland. On Saturday and Sunday nights, May 8 and 9, we held big meetings to win support for stopping the *Jolly George*. There was no indication from these meetings that any action would be taken. But on May 10, 1920, the dockers refused to load the *Jolly George* and the coalies refused to charge her bunkers with coal.

On Thursday, May 13, the *Jolly George* should have sailed, but she was still held up. On May 14, orders were given for her to have what cargo had been loaded taken out of her. Fred Thompson, who was then London Secretary of the Dockers' Union, stated:

"We shall keep our eyes open to see that the munitions are not surreptitiously put aboard another ship."

This action of the London dockers had an electrifying effect throughout the working class movement both at home and abroad.

It led to the formation of Councils of Action on a local and national scale, which received very great support.

It also extracted some damning admissions from the government leaders, and set an agitation going that finally forced the government to change its line as we shall see.

On May 10, 1920, *The Times* carried headlines: "Fall of Kiev—Retreat of Red Army". It was also publicly announced on this date that King George V had sent a cable of congratulations to Marshal Pilsudski on May 3, in connection with the Polish National Fete Day. This fact, it will be noticed was not mentioned until after the fall of Kiev had been announced.

How *The Times* let itself go in its leading article on that historic day of May 10, 1920. It knew how to connect the fall of Kiev with the king's congratulatory cable to Pilsudski, and it gloated as follows:

> "The fall of Kiev is a great triumph for the Poles and their Ukrainian allies, as it is a heavy blow for the Bolshevists. The city was entered according to the Russian wireless on Friday, after heavy fighting during Thursday and that day, and by the latest reports the Russians are in retreat, followed by the Polish cavalry. King George expresses the traditional feelings of the British people when he conveys to Marshal Pilsudski on the occasion of the Polish National Festival their 'most cordial' congratulations and good wishes for the future of the Polish State." (*The Times*, May 10, 1920.)

What the writer of this leading article did not know was that on May 10 was also going to occur the "Fall of the *Jolly George*".

On May 6, 1920, Bonar Law had indignantly denied in Parliament that the British government was giving either moral or material support to Poland.

On May 11, after the strike on the *Jolly George*, Churchill admitted that the British and French governments "had helped to strengthen and equip the Polish army". Later Bonar Law had to admit that the government had been giving munitions free to Poland since October, 1919.

Articles about the *Jolly George* were appearing all over the country, questions were being asked in Parliament. In every workers' meeting the significance of the dockers' action was being explained and received tremendous support. When the *Jolly George* strike was mentioned at the Labor Party Conference in June, 1920, it aroused tremendous applause. Support for the Russian Revolution developed all over the country; the cry "Hands Off Russia" was heard everywhere.

Still, the government refused to change its line. On August 9, 1920, there took place at Hythe an Inter-Allied Conference, at which the question of Poland and Russia was being discussed. It is believed that strong pressure was being exerted to give over more support to Poland.

At the close of this conference the following statement was issued:

"The allies are in complete agreement regarding the action to be taken in reference to the Polish situation, subject, however, to the approval of Parliament tomorrow in the case of Great Britain.

"Mr. Lloyd George tomorrow will make a detailed statement, and pending that there is no further official information to be forwarded to the press."

But another conference was being held on August 9, 1920. The working class support for Soviet Russia, strengthened by the action of the London dockers in stopping the *Jolly George*, and the revelations of the British government's support of Poland, led to a joint meeting of the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, the Labor Party Executive, and the Parliamentary Labor Party. This took place in the House of Commons on August 9, 1920, and the following resolution was adopted:

"That this Joint Conference, representing the Trades Union Congress, the Labor Party, and the Parliamentary Labor Party, feel certain that war is being engineered between the Allied Powers and Soviet Russia on the issue of Poland, and declares that such a war would be an intolerable crime against humanity. It therefore warns the government that the whole industrial power of the organized workers will be used to defeat this war; that the Executive Committees of affiliated organizations throughout the country be summoned to hold themselves ready to proceed immediately to London for a National Conference; that they be advised to instruct their members to 'down tools' on instructions from that National Conference; and that a Council of Action be immediately constituted to take such steps as may be necessary to carry the above decisions into effect."

This meeting was immediately followed on August 13 by a special National Conference of Executive Committees and members of organizations affiliated to the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party.

The decisions of the August 9 meeting were endorsed and the official report says:

"Mr. W. H. Hutchinson (Amalgamated Engineers' Union) then moved, and Mr. J. W. Bowen (Union of Post Office Workers) seconded, the following resolution, which, after speeches from Messrs. R. Williams and Robert Smillie, was carried unanimously:

"That this Conference of Trade Union and Labor representatives hails with satisfaction the Russian government's declaration in favor of the complete independence of Poland, as set forth in their peace terms to Poland, and realizing the gravity of the international situation, pledges itself to resist any and every form of military and naval intervention against the Soviet Government of Russia.

"It accordingly instructs the Council of Action to remain in being until they have secured:

"1. An absolute guarantee that the armed forces of Great

Britain shall not be used in support of Poland, Baron Wrangel, or any other military or naval effort against the Soviet government.

"2. The withdrawal of all British naval forces operating directly or indirectly as a blockading influence against Russia.

"3. The recognition of the Russian Soviet government and the establishment of unrestricted trading and commercial relationships between Great Britain and Russia.

"This Conference further refuses to be associated with any alliance between Great Britain and France or any other country which commits us to any support of Wrangel, Poland, or the supply of munitions or other war material for any form of attack upon Soviet Russia.

"The Conference authorizes the Council of Action to call any and every form of withdrawal of labor which circumstances may require to give effect to the foregoing policy, and calls upon every trade union official, Executive Committee, Local Council of Action, and the membership in general to act swiftly, loyally, and courageously in order to sweep away secret bargaining and diplomacy and to assure that the foreign policy of Great Britain may be in accord with the well-known desires of the people."

It is interesting to note how strong the mass pressure of the working class was, for J. H. Thomas, speaking in support of this resolution, stated:

"I sincerely believe that if this country is dragged into another war such as we are discussing, economically, financially, and morally, it will lead to consequences which no one will be able to control.

"I do not want you to be under any misapprehension that giving effect to this resolution means a mere strike. When you vote for this resolution, do not do so on the assumption that you are merely voting for a simple down-tools policy. It is nothing of the kind. If this resolution is to be given effect to it means a challenge to the whole constitution of the country.

"But I do believe that we are a united Labor movement that can carry with us the whole of the working class movement of this country and say: 'Much as we regret the action and deplore the circumstances of the two alternatives, we are prepared to take the risk of this one, whatever the consequences may be'."

Ou August 10, 1920, Lloyd George made his statement and declared that the Polish attack on Russia could not be justified. This was a complete reversal of policy. Of how it forced a complete change of policy Churchill gives the proof, and also how the British workers had achieved this:

"The British Labor Party had developed a violent agitation against any British assistance being given to Poland . . . councils of action were formed in many parts of Great Britain. Nowhere among the public was there the slightest comprehension of the evils which would follow a Polish collapse.

"Under these pressures Mr. Lloyd George was constrained to advise the Polish government that the Russian terms 'do no violence to the ethnographical frontiers of Poland as an independent State', and that if they were rejected, the British government could not take any action against Russia." (*The World Crisis: The Aftermath*, Winston Churchill.)

The whole working class movement was wildly enthusiastic at its great victory. It was ready now to take any step to defend the Russian Revolution. At the Portsmouth Trades Union Congress, in September, 1920, there was unanimous endorsement of the attitude taken by the Special Conference on August 13, and the Congress adopted the following resolution unanimously:

"That this Congress welcomes the formation of the Council of Action and observes with satisfaction the efforts to prevent the outbreak of a war calculated to involve Great Britain, and the continued efforts to make peace between this country and Russia. It endorses the decision to send delegates to Riga, and calls upon the government to afford all passport facilities to the British Labor delegation, whose presence will be the best guarantee against any unjustifiable or unwarrantable claim submitted by or on behalf of either Poland or Russia."

Edo Fimmen as a fraternal delegate to this Congress, in specific reference to the effects of the *Jolly George*, and the subsequent developments that had taken place, stated:

"Your achievement over the last two months and your present action speak fair for the future. The example set by the British workers, your resistance against any support to imperialistic or capitalistic Poland, your demand, your action for an equitable proletarian peace with the Russian people, has been hailed enthusiastically everywhere. That the world has been saved from a new war, from another butchery, from new misery, is only due to the attitude and to the action of the proletarian International, and in the first instance a British section—to the splendid action of the British workers. The International thanks you for all you have done in the recent past—your duty and more than your duty."

During the course of this Portsmouth Trades Union Congress in 1920, an incident took place, illustrating the effects of the *Jolly George* strike and the decisions of the Special Conferences of August 9 and 13. A telegram came to the Congress addressed to James Sexton, then leader of the dockers in Liverpool, which read:

"Bootle men refuse to load fumigating machines marked O.H.M.S. (On His Majesty Service) and labeled Danzig, which men contend are for troops in Poland. Ship held up. Wire instructions."

Mr. Straker, on behalf of the Standing Orders Committee of the Congress, stated a reply had been sent to this telegram as follows:

> "Transport Federation considered all questions affecting shipments to Poland fumigating machinery only to destroy vermin and prevent typhus and other diseases. Recommend your members to release embargo and to cooperate in stopping shipments of munitions and materials of war." (Signed, Sexton, Bevin, Williams, Gosling, McLeod.)

There can be no duobt that the strike on the *Jolly George* compelled the Coalition government to restrain its anti-Russian policy and compelled a turn, which finally resulted in the Krassin Conversations and the sending of an official Russian Trade Delegation to London. It was a tremendous victory for international solidarity, and constitutes one of the most glorious passages in working class history. It was undoubtedly a great help to our Russian comrades in one of their most critical situations, as was stated at the time by Lenin. We need to explain the whole of this episode time and time again to the workers, in these days when the danger of another war grows so acute, and when, in spite of the existence of widespread anti-war feeling, there is far too little militant anti-war propaganda leading to strike action being developed. Especially do we need this type of propaganda and action in the big munition centers and on the docks and railways.

It needs to be stressed that the *Jolly George* strike was no spontaneous act; it was the result of months of hard and untiring propaganda. It was hard to get strike action in 1920, even with war memories so sharp, with the slogan "Never Again" echoing throughout the land. It was a time when, under pressure of the masses, the Labor leaders were making militant anti-war speeches and threatening a general strike in the event of war.

The general hostility to war in 1920 was reflected, for example, in the character of the resolutions appearing in the Labor Party Conference Agenda in June, 1920. Typical of this is the following resolution in the name of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, which reads:

> "This Conference declares that in the event of a near possibility of this country being involved in war in the future, no member of the Labor Party shall in any way support the government in the prosecution of a war, whether the plea for same is offense or defense, until the matter in dispute has been discussed with recognized Labor and T.U. leaders of the supposed enemy country or countries, and the result of such discussion laid before the members of our Party." (A.S.L. & E.F. Labor Party Conference, June, 1920.)

Even J. H. Thomas in his opening speech at the Portsmouth Trades Union Congress in 1920, stated:

> "Whoever gains from war, one thing is certain—the workers lose."

Today there is a different situation. The whole power and authority of the Labor leaders is against strike action to retard or prevent war.

Britain is the biggest armament exporter in the world. To Japan and Germany especially has the present National government allowed vast quantities of munitions and war materials to be sent. To Germany, the powerful armament trusts have been allowed to send the very war materials which the Peace Treaty of Versailles declares Germany could not have.

When the *Ben Alder* was taking munitions to Japan from the West India Docks in Millwall, in 1932, a great campaign was carried out by militant anti-war fighters to try and hold up this ship. No help was received from the Labor leaders, yet a strike then could, in our opinion, have had the same kind of international effect as the strike in the *Jolly George* in 1920.

The lesson is clear. There must be an intensification of all forms of militant anti-war activity. The significance of the Labor Party and Trades Union Congress decision in 1934 to drop the weapon of the general strike against war must be explained to the workers repeatedly. The causes of war; the help being given effectively to prepare to fight war by the peace policy of the Soviet Union; reporting on munition contracts; short protest stoppages on occasion; wide distribution of anti-war literature; are some of the immediate things that have to be explained and carried out.

It is a disquieting fact that in connection with the Silver Jubilee of King George V the National government has succeeded in whipping up patriotic and nationalist feeling on a great scale. It is a timely warning of what can take place in connection with actual war mobilization.

But the workers have the final word. The recent strike of workers in the aircraft factories is an indication of their power. The *Jolly George* was a practical and mighty demonstration of that power.

Today, fifteen years after the *Jolly George*, we must prepare the workers for exercising this power again by every possible means, to save millions of humanity from the slaughter of another imperialist war.

The Victory of the Collective Farm System

By A. URALSKY

"It has been proved in fact to hundreds of millions for the first time in the history of mankind that it is possible to build Socialism in a single country." (Resolution of the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. on the Second Five-Year Plan to Develop the National Economy of the U.S.S.R.)

AGAINST the general background of the stormy growth of the economic and political power of the Soviet Union, the victory of the collective farm system in the land of Soviets is of very exceptional importance.

The collective farms, together with the Soviet State farms, concentrate in their hands 90 per cent of the entire sown area of the Union.

Already in 1932, the Soviet State received 85.6 per cent of the total marketable grain from the Socialist sector. In 1934 the corresponding percentage was 93.3.

The kulaks, the exploiters, have been defeated—although not yet completely destroyed. Here and there they continue to carry on their wrecking activities. Remnants of poor peasants and middle peasants who, up to the present time, continue to cultivate their land individually, still remain in the village. They now constitute an insignificant minority, and play practically no role whatever in the economic life of the country. They are the collective farmers of tomorrow.

During the past five or six years, over 15 million of the 20 million former petty proprietors have become collective farmers, directly engaged in large-scale collective, Socialist economy. Under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, they are going forward to a cultural prosperous life.

THE FOUNDERS OF MARXISM ON COLLECTIVIZATION

The victory of the collective farm system is a victory for the Communist Party, a victory for the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The question of collectivization, of the transition of small scattered peasant households to large-scale collective farms was already put forward by Marx and Engels. The views advanced by the founders of Marxism on collectivization are a component and indissoluble part of their teachings on the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the proletarian revolution—the revolution which will inevitably be victorious throughout the world.

As far back as 1873, long before the beginning of the epoch of the proletarian revolution, Marx wrote:

> "The proletariat must, as the government, take measures as a consequence of which the conditions of the peasants will directly improved, and which will thus attract them to the side of the revolution; measures however which from the outset facilitate the *passage from private property in land to collective property*, so that the peasant himself comes to this by the economic path." (Marx: *Summary of Bakunin's Book "Etatisme et Anarchie"*.)

These directions of the genius Marx were further elaborated by Comrades Lenin and Stalin in the country where the dictatorship of the proletariat was brought about, where the proletariat "as the government" had the practical task of ensuring that the peasantry "make the transition from private property to collective property".

The voluntary principle as regards unification for productive purposes, and the close alliance of the proletariat with the basic masses of the peasantry are the very important principles which characterize the attitude of the proletarian state to the task of the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture and which were placed at the basis of Lenin's cooperative plan.

Under capitalism the small peasant drags out a miserable existence. The village lags incredibly behind the city. It lags behind economically, technically, culturally and politically.

Bourgeois theoreticians explain the backwardness of agriculture by the "law of decreasing fertility" and other "eternal" natural factors.

In reality the reason for the backwardness of agriculture is to be found in the nature of the society torn by class antagonisms, such as is capitalist society.

The reason lies in the merciless exploitation of the small peasants by the landlords and capitalists. Private property in land and land rent play a decisive role here. Industrial trusts, monopolistic companies rob the peasant through their price policy, namely, low prices on agricultural products and high prices on industrial commodities.

The landlord-capitalist state robs the toiling peasants through taxation and levies.

> "The exploitation of the peasants is distinguished from the exploitation of the factory proletariat only in its *forms*. The exploiter is the same—capital . . . the right of peasant property is the talisman which has hitherto handed over the peasants to the power of capital in the name of this property capital has set them against the industrial proletariat." (Marx.)

This is what Marx wrote, having in view the French peasants. But this can be fully applied to the position of the toiling peasantry in any capitalist country. This fully applies to the peasantry in former landlord-capitalist Russia as well. The conditions of the small peasantry in capitalist society is absolutely hopeless.

> "The peasants, therefore, find their natural allies and leaders in the urban proletariat, whose mission it is to subvert the big order of society." (Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, p. 136.)

For centuries under the landlord-capitalist system the peasantry have stood at the threshold of poverty and hunger.

The October Revolution opened up before the toiling peasantry the possibility of a new path—the path of collectivization.

A few months prior to the October Revolution, Comrade Lenin wrote the following:

> ". . . the system of small peasant households where production for the market prevails cannot save mankind from poverty or oppression." (Lenin, *Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*, April 1917.)
>
> "It is a difficult task, but it is necessary to undertake common tillage on large model farms. Outside of this there is no way out of economic ruin, out of the truly desperate situation in which Russia finds itself." (Lenin, *Speech to Congress of Peasant Deputies*, May 1917.)

Economic necessity itself dictated the transition to the path of collectivization. Lenin emphasized this very strongly when speaking of the Socialist remaking of the village and of the struggle against the kulaks, when speaking of the voluntary character of the unification of the peasants in the collective farms.

The teachings of Marx and Lenin were the granite foundation on which the proletariat and its Party, the Bolshevik Party, confidently prepared, set up, and organized the "great *change** in the village.

The overwhelming majority (80-90 per cent) of all collective farms now in existence came into being after 1929, during the First Five-Year Plan.

The following table gives an idea of the development of collectivization and the rapidity of this development:

Per cent of collective economies to total number of households

Figures taken in the spring of each given year

1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
1.7	3.9	23.6	52.7	61.5	62.0	71.2	80.0

This is how collectivization grows in the Soviet Union year by year. During the recent period the urge towards the collective farms has increased much more.

During the first three months of 1935 alone, over 842,000 new households joined the collective farms. Collective farms in the Vinnizki area accepted 55,000 individual farmers into their ranks, collective farms in the Moscow area accepted 437,000 peasants, and so on.

Until the end of 1932 collective farming occupied an insignificant place in agricultural production. The collective farms were, as a rule, organized by the more conscious section of the poor peasantry, farm laborors and workers from factories ruined during the imperialist and civil wars.

The Soviet village in the first ten to twelve years following October

* Stalin, "The Year of Great Change", *Leninism*, pp. 245-51

was characterized by the predominance of small, individual peasant production.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted the policy of complete collectivization and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class only at the end of 1929.

The decision of the Sixteenth Party Congress in 1930 justly called this period the second stage of the October Revolution:

> "Whereas the confiscation of the land of the big landowners was the *first* step of the November revolution in the village, the transition to collective farming is the *second* and decisive step, which determines the most important stage of the construction of the foundation of Socialist society in the U.S.S.R." (*Resolution of the Sixteenth Congress C.P.S.U.*)

THE GROWTH OF THE PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOR IN THE COLLECTIVE FARMS BY COMPARISON WITH THE INDIVIDUAL FARMS

Undoubtedly the most important and the most decisive among the numerous indices of the victory of the collective farm system is the tremendous rise in the productivity of agricultural labor in comparison with that which prevailed in the former individual peasant farm. According to data of 1934, the present collective farmers, while they were still individual farmers, sowed 71,226,000 hectares of land in 1927. The area sown by the collective farms in 1934 was 101,747,000 hectares —that is, 42.9 per cent more land than in 1927.

As an index of the effectiveness of collective farm labor we can quote the following characteristic table:

Gross and Marketable Output of Grain Cultures

	Gross output (in million poods*)	Marketable output (in million poods)
Collective farms in 1934.....	4,196.2	1,269.0
Present collective farmers in 1926-1927	2,914.5	341.6

These figures are without a doubt an index of the rise of the well-being of the collective farmer.

The collective farmers of today sow 30,500,000 hectares more than they did when they were individual peasant farmers. They produce almost one and one-half times as much grain as they produced as individual farmers. The production of marketable grain has increased by more than two and one-half times. The collective farms in 1934 gave almost 1,000,000,000 poods of marketable grain more than the same poor and middle farmers produced before collectivization.

The collective farmers not only assimilated the land of the landlords and kulaks, but are yearly placing millions of hectares of virgin soil under cultivation.

In what was formerly known as the "consuming" district alone (the former region covering Moscow, Tula, Ryazan, Kaluga, Tver, Petro-

* One pood equals 36 pounds.

grad, now Leningrad), 2,765,000 hectares of virgin soil were put under cultivation in the past two years.

The experience of the work of hundreds of thousands of collective farmers bears witness to the high effectiveness of collective farm labor in comparison with the former individual economy production.

Here, for example, is the "Kirov" collective farm in the Shilovsk district (Moscow region) which lies in the southwest part of the former Ryazan district. In the past, this district served as a symbol of century-old backwardness both in Russian and in world literature. Formerly grain was imported into this district from other areas. In the best years, individual farmers did not collect a yield of more than eight centners* of rye per hectare and wheat was never sown here, whereas in 1934 the collective farmers of the collective farm above-mentioned reaped 19.2 centners of rye per hectare, 18 centners of oats and 15.5 centners of wheat. Very many such examples could be given.

MECHANIZATION OF THE COLLECTIVE FARMS

One of the decisive levers ensuring the high productivity of agricultural labor and the growth of prosperity among the collective farmers in undoubtedly the mechanization of the collective farms, and the equipment of the farms with the latest technique.

The old pre-revolutionary village, judged by its technical equipment and the level of its productivity of labor, was justly considered as an example of backwardness, primitiveness and semi-barbarism. For example, according to the 1910 census there were 99,500 iron ploughs, 15,200 hand mowers and 104,000 wooden ploughs in the Kostruma area. This means that the peasants had only six iron ploughs per each 1,000 hectares of cultivated land, the rest of the land being cultivated by wooden ploughs and hand mowers. Sickles and scythes predominated among the harvesting "machines".

Only a small group of kulaks had any kind of horse-drawn agricultural machines. The poor and middle peasants, that is, the basic, overwhelming mass of the village population as a rule had no machinery and could not have any. As late as 1928, over 40 per cent of the grain threshed from the peasants' fields was done by hand. Exhaustive hand labor predominated in the peasant holdings.

Now, in the collective farms, conditions have changed radically. The proletarian state gives much systematic aid in production. On the initiative of Comrade Stalin, in 1930 the construction of Machine and Tractor Stations began in the villages. At the beginning of 1934 there were 2,860 such stations and by the end of the year this number had increased to 3,500. In 1934 46 per cent of all the collective farms were served by Machine and Tractor Stations—and these were the largest collective farms which occupy 64 per cent of the entire area cultivated by the collective farms. Six hundred and seventy new Machine and Tractor Stations will be established during 1935, thus increasing the number to 4,170 by the end of 1935.

* Six poods equal one centner.

In 1934 there were 170,000 tractors with a total of 2,565,000 horsepower working on the fields of the collective farms; 15,000 combines and tens of thousands of trucks were in use on the collective farms. At the present time the Machine and Tractor Stations have over 200,000 tractors, and these work much more effectively this year than the preceding year. By the 10th of May in 1934 each tractor had covered 77 hectares (the first ploughing), but this year they have covered 99.2 hectares. The various agricultural machines (tractor driven) and complex agricultural machines have now assumed a decisive place in the collective farms. Industry in the Soviet Union is this year providing agriculture above what the latter received last year, with 21,000 combines, 99,000 tractors and 30,000 automobiles.

Agricultural labor is now being transformed into industrial labor.

THE COLLECTIVE FARMS ARE BECOMING BOLSHEVIK, AND THE COLLECTIVE FARMERS PROSPEROUS

In February 1933, at the First All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock Brigade Workers, Comrade Stalin put forward the historic slogan of struggle to make the collective framers well-to-do.

> "If we work honestly, work for ourselves, for our collective farms, then in a matter of two to three years we will raise all the collective farmers, the ex-poor peasants and ex-middle peasants, to the level of the well-to-do peasants, to the level of those who enjoy an abundance of produce and who lead a fully cultural life."

The millions of collective farmers in the Soviet Union are, under the leadership of the Communist Party, struggling successfully to fulfill the directions given by Comrade Stalin.

The majority of the collective farms are becoming enterprises which really pay their way, enterprises with high incomes, Bolshevik enterprises. At the present time it is no longer a rare thing to find collective farmers who earn 300-350 workdays in the course of a year, and who receive for each workday from ten to twelve kilograms of grain and considerable sums of money in cash. It is also not rare to find the family of some best collective farm shock worker earning from 500 to 800 poods of grain and thousands of rubles in cash in the course of a year. At the same time the overwhelming majority of the collective farms fulfill their obligations to the State accurately and conscientiously.

In the Kabardin-Balkai district only a few collective farms in 1934 paid less than 20 kilograms of grain per workday to their collective farmers. The overwhelming majority paid from 20 to 25 kilograms per workday.

A high payment per workday is now typical in the majority of collective farms in the Soviet Union.

During the past two to three years, the life of all the collective farmers has improved immeasurably. The prosperity of the collective

farm and collective farmer is an actual reality. Here is an example of how the collective farmer lives in the U.S.S.R.

Collective farmer N. D. Tzapko is a member of the Krassin Collective Farm in the Ozov Black Sea District. He has a family of nine people. During the year 1934 this family earned 1,383 workdays. Here it must be noted that the Krassin Collective Farm is not considered one of the best farms. In 1934 the family received 5.8 kilograms of grain per workday and in spite of this, the collective farmer Tzapko received from January 1, 1934, to January 1, 1935, 600 poods of grain in all, 425 poods of which were wheat. In addition the family received 100 poods of oil seed, 354 poods of potatoes (including those grown in their own garden), a considerable quantity of honey, lard, milk, butter, melons and stock-feed. They also received 850 rubles in cash and, for the products sold on the market (flour, poultry, hogs), they received 6,500 rubles.

How much does the Tzapko family eat? "We eat much—to our hearts' content"—they say. "We consumed 124 poods of flour during the year—we live on the fat of the land. We churned three poods of butter, killed a hog and some 40 chickens, and ate them all up. We killed 33 rabbits and consumed about a thousand eggs."

In the course of the year the family bought seven woolen suits, 114 meters of cotton dress goods, 36 meters of sateen, blankets, household linen, etc. Tzapko bought himself a bicycle, wrist watch, books, etc.

And what was Tzapko before he became a collective farmer? He was poor, and when he was an individual farmer his children were barefooted and hungry. And he was in debt as well. "It was no life—it was just one unbearable torture", says Tzapko when he recalls his former life.

The following data also serve to illustrate how the collective farmer grows more prosperous from year to year. In 1933 consumers' cooperatives sold 13,000 bicycles in the villages, and in 1934 sold 113,000. And the demand at that was far from being satisfied. In 1934, collective farms purchased 10,600 trucks with the money received from the sale of grain to the State.

The collective farmers today demand a great quantity of many articles for daily use which the old village knew nothing about.

Large-scale stock raising is developing and growing strong in the collective farms in accordance with the State plan for development of stock raising.

The efforts of the collective farmers—aided as far as only possible by the Party and government—have resulted in 200,000 cattle raising farms being established in conjunction with their collective farms. Over 30,000,000 head of cattle are concentrated in the collective farms. Of this, 11,000,000 head are large horned cattle, 5,000,000 are hogs and 14,000,000 are sheep. Each year the total number of head of cattle on the farms is growing. The quality and productiveness of the cattle are also improving. This is also one of the indices of the growing prosperity of the collective farms.

THE COMBINATION OF THE PERSONAL INTERESTS OF THE COLLECTIVE FARMERS WITH THE SOCIAL INTERESTS OF THE COLLECTIVE FARM IS THE KEY TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE COLLECTIVE FARM

In addition to strengthening socialized cattle raising in the collective farm itself, the Party and the government have done very much during the last two or three years to do away with the situation where a collective farmer has not got his own cow. The poor peasants, the agricultural laborers and a section of the middle peasants who previously did not, as a rule, have any cows at all, now, due to the victory of the collective farm system, have received a cow for the use of each household. The collective farmers as a rule now have a house of their own, a kitchen garden, an orchard, a cow, poultry, and small stock.

The collective farmers combine shock work on the collective farms with work on their auxiliary land-plots. Personal interests are combined with social interests. Herein lies one of the basic principles of the structure of the agricultural artel, which at this stage is the only correct form of the collective farms.

The Second All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock Workers, which took place in Moscow in February, 1935, adopted new model statutes for the agricultural artel. In these statutes it is clearly stated how much land the collective farmer must have for his individual gardening and other purposes, how many cows, hogs, goats, etc., he should have for his own use. The statutes were elaborated with the direct participation of Comrade Stalin, and at the present time serve as the fundamental law of the collective farm, indicating the main line of development toward a cultured and prosperous life. They combine the personal interests of the collective farmers with the social interests.

Comrade Stalin, in speaking at the Commission of the Congress which prepared the new statutes, stated the following:

> "If you want to strengthen the artel, if you want to have a mass collective farm movement embracing millions and not merely individual or hundreds of households, if you want to achieve all this, then, under the present conditions you must without fail take into account the personal interests of the collective farmers in addition to their general interests. Since there are families, children, personal requirements and personal tastes, this must be taken into account. You have no right not to take into account the personal interests connected with the lives of the collective farmers. Without this it is impossible to strengthen the collective farms. *The coordination of the personal interests of the collective farmers with their social interests is the key to the strengthening of the collective farm.*"

The mighty idea of Lenin's cooperative plan, which was calculated on remaking and re-educating the small commodity producers into workers of the Socialist society, is fully reflected in these words uttered by Comrade Stalin.

The realization of the new statutes of the agricultural artel, the realization of all the directives given by Comrade Stalin, will give

a new impulse toward the raising of the productivity of labor in the collective farm, toward the transformation of all collective farms into Bolshevik farms and the collective farmers into prosperous, cultured workers of Socialist society.

The results of the spring sowing for 1935 serve as the best confirmation of the force which lies in the new statutes of the agricultural artel. The spring sowing in 1935 was finished in an exceptionally short period of time. The plan of the spring sowing was fulfilled in the main by May 25 instead of June 10 as last year. Cotton was sown 10 to 15 days sooner than last year. Eighty per cent of the beet was sown in 20 days instead of 45 as in 1933. According to all indices, the spring sowing this year was carried through much better than previously. This is why the prospects for the harvest this year are very favorable. The task now is to be timely in harvesting and handing over to the State a record quantity of grain, beets, potatoes, vegetables, etc.

The recently concluded June (June 5-7) plenary session of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. made a special examination of the question of the harvest of agricultural products and of deliveries to the State. The decisions of the Plenum are a concrete, operative program of struggle to organize the harvesting without losses, and for the timely delivery of agricultural products to the State. The decisions of the Plenum contain exact provisions of the order and time limits for the fulfillment of all the work connected with the preparation and operation of the harvesting campaign and also the time limits for the fulfillment by the collective farms, Soviet State farms and individual peasants of their obligations to the State.

The fight for quality, for culture in the cultivation of the land, against opportunist reliance on "spontaneity", the struggle to raise revolutionary watchfulness runs like a red thread through all the decisions of the Plenum. The decisions of the Plenum of the C.C. call on all Party organizations and all Communists to display organization, watchfulness and the further preservation of fighting preparedness.

CADRES DECIDE EVERYTHING

A new system of economy has been created, new technique, new culture, new people have grown up on the Soviet farms. Through the efforts of the Party and the Soviet Power, numerous cadres of specialists of high quality have been created in the village. During the last four years alone 111,000 engineering, technical and agro-technical workers have been sent into the village. During the year 1933 alone, 25,000 workers were sent into the political departments of the Machine and Tractor Stations, 25,000 highly qualified organizers and political leaders of collective farm life.

During the years of the First Five-Year Plan millions of people were trained as tractor drivers, combine operators, chauffeurs, etc. For example, 4,500,000 tractor workers were trained; of these, 3,000,000 are on collective farms and 1,500,000 on Soviet farms. In 1934 alone 270,000 leaders of agricultural brigades were trained in the collective farms, as well as 180,000 leaders in cattle raising brigades.

But there is still a shortage of qualified cadres. If all the brigade leaders, all the tractorists, all the combine operators and machine operators, armed with the most modern agricultural technique, worked as well as the best of them, then the collective farm would gain still greater victories.

In May, 1935, Comrade Stalin, in the course of a speech at the graduation of the Red Army Academy, delivered in the Kremlin, called for careful treatment of cadres, of training and developing them thoroughly in order to:

> "Squeeze out of technique all that can be squeezed out."
> (Stalin, *The Soviets and the Individual*, p. 9.)

The new slogan, "cadres decide everything", is a powerful factor in the struggle for new victories in all sectors of Socialist construction, and in particular, in the struggle for the further Bolshevization of collective farms and the transformation of all collective farmers into prosperous people.

The victory of the collective farm system in the U.S.S.R., of course, did not come about of itself, spontaneously. This victory was won by the Communist Party and the Soviet Power in the process of fierce class struggle. The process of the construction of Socialism is inseparably bound up with the radical reconstruction of the system of petty economy, with the remaking of the personal nature of the peasant as a small commodity producer; it is a path which is linked up with the destruction of private ownership of the means of production and abolition of classes.

In the process of preparing and bringing about complete collectivization, the Party smashed the Right opportunists (Bukharin, Rykov, etc.) who denied the necessity of the very organization of the collective farms and proposed to build "socialism" on the basis of the kulak growing into Socialism, on the basis of the stability of small peasant economy.

In the process of preparing and bringing about complete collectivization the Party smashed the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists who also denied the possibility of collectivization making a victorious advance, denied the very possibility of the construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. The Trotskyites viewed the toiling peasantry as an inevitable antagonist of the proletariat, denied the possibility of a firm alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry.

In the process of preparing and bringing about complete collectivization the Party smashed a whole crew of counter-revolutionary wreckers (Kondratiev, Chayanov, Oganovsky, Markevich, Wolfe and others).

Masking themselves under the cloak of outward loyalty to the Soviet government a whole group of bourgeois professors, engineers and agronomists worked in Soviet governmental institutions, in the Commissariats, in the Soviet farms, and Machine and Tractor Stations, and lived in the hope of the restoration of capitalism. These people did everything that they could to put a brake on the success of collectivization. Chayanov and his adherents set going the old and worn out theory of the stability of the small individual peasant farm, the theory of

"optimal dimensions" which tried to prove the superiority of kulak farms over collective and Soviet farms. The wreckers wormed their way into central planning institutions and carried on their wrecking work along the line of planning in every possible way. They left farms without machines, without seed; they planned the dispatch of materials to places where they were not needed, and chose unsuitable locations for Soviet farms and Machine and Tractor Stations. The theory that tractors and complicated agricultural machines cannot be applied to advantage on collective farms was also one of their wrecking theories.

On the initiative of the wreckers, the practice of so-called "simplified agro-technique" was widely applied in a number of districts. This included shallow ploughing, untimely sowing, failure to carry on weeding, all of which methods resulted in the fields becoming overgrown with weeds and in low harvests.

The wreckers, kulaks and whiteguard elements also destroyed many of the cattle in collective farms, Soviet farms and generally in the villages.

Through the efforts of the Party, the working class and the entire mass of the collective farmers, the work of the wreckers was smashed. The counter-revolutionary theories of the wreckers were exposed and crushed just as the "theories" of the Right opportunists and counter-revolutionary Trotskyists were also exposed and smashed.

Among the social economic changes which have taken place and are taking place in the Soviet village, the process of the abolition of classes, the process of the gradual wiping out of the difference between the working class and the collective farm peasants is of the greatest world historic significance. The historic decisions of the Seventh Congress of Soviets serve to stress the tremendous rapprochement which has taken place between the working class and the peasantry. Formerly, the Soviet constitution gave the workers preferential voting rights in comparison with the peasants. Now this difference has been eliminated. Workers and peasants will elect their representatives on an equal footing. There is a rise in the political consciousness of the collective farmer, in the feeling of responsibility for social property. The material and cultural level attained by the peasant and the workers have come close to one another.

The Soviet Union is coming closer and closed toward the transformation of the entire population into a united body of Socialist producers. This, of course, does not yet mean that the difference between the working class and the peasants has already been liquidated.

These differences still remain. Differences between town and country still remain. First of all, there are still millions of individual farmers in the villages, collective farmers of tomorrow, with whom it will be necessary to carry on a tremendous amount of organizational and educational work. Kulak and speculator elements are still to be found in the villages. And finally, in the consciousness of the collective farmers who were individual peasants only yesterday, there are still remnants of the ideology of private ownership, of petty bourgeois sentiments.

It is necessary that everyday proletarian leadership be given to the collective farms, and that a relentless struggle be carried on against

the remnants of the kulak and whiteguard elements. In this way not only the advanced collective farms, but all the collective farms in the Soviet Union will become thoroughly Bolshevik, and all of the collective farmers will become prosperous. At the same time this will be a great step forward on the path toward the abolition of classes, on the path toward the complete abolition of the difference between the working class and the collective farm peasantry.

The victory of the collective farm system is particularly great and significant if we compare the conditions of the collective farmer in the U.S.S.R. with the conditions of the small farmer in capitalist countries at the present time. The special knd of depression not only did not stop the process of the pauperization of the toiling sections of the peasantry, but, on account of the tremendous unemployment, of the impoverishment of the working class and the broad masses of the population and of the curtailment of the demand for agricultural products, the impoverishment of the small peasants is continuing on an ever widening scale. Capitalism is unable to stop the ruin of the toiling peasantry.

The small and middle peasant is in slavish dependence on the banks, the usurer and the monopolistic marketing concerns, and weighed down by the taxes levied by the capitalist state. The tax collectors and the usurers take the last bit of land away from the toiling peasant.

In 1921, Lenin, in estimating the international political significance of the great Socialist construction in the land of the Soviets, wrote the following:

> "From the point of view of the development of the world proletarian revolution as a single process, the importance of the epoch being undergone by Russia consists in practically testing and checking the policy of the proletariat, which has state power in its hands, in relation to the masses of the petty bourgeoisie." (Vol. XXVI, p. 429.)

The victory of the collective farm system, the complete victory of the Socialist system not only in the town but also in the village is the best proof that the Bolshevik Party and the working class of the Soviet Union have gloriously stood the test placed before them by history.

The collective farm system has been tested on the basis of the experience of tens of millions of people. The petty bourgeois peasantry, both the poor and the middle peasants who constituted the majority of the population of the U.S.S.R., have turned to the path of the collective farm, have recognized the collective farm system as their very own, and have, for the first time in the history of mankind, shown in practice, how to organize and build a classless Socialist society.

The collective farmers of the Soviet Union know that millions of people throughout the world are watching closely the experience of the establishment of collective farming in the land of proletarian dictatorship.

The victory of the collective farm system in the U.S.S.R. points to the only correct path towards the struggle and victory of the millions of toiling peasants in the capitalist countries and colonies.

Notes on the United Front on May First

By SAM BROWN

THE celebration of May First is deeply rooted in the early history and traditions of the American labor movement. It was the early rising trade union movement in the United States in the struggle for the 8-hour day which gave birth to May First as a day of struggle. The early May First demonstrations and strikes left a deep impression on the minds of the workers, but the bourgeoisie and the top leaders of the A. F. of L. tried to bury and obliterate the fighting traditions and memories of these May First demonstrations. Labor Day was to take the place of May First. Class peace—surrender to the capitalists—was to replace the class struggle. The American bourgeoisie was anxious to kill the fighting traditions of May First. It was willing and did declare Labor Day a legal holiday.

The A. F. of L. misleaders of labor have been in practice outlawing the May First demonstrations. They outlawed the very First of May celebration.

Though in the pre-war period many of the A. F. of L. unions have organized and participated in May First demonstrations, for many years, however, the bulk of the A. F. of L. organizations and membership were not an organic part of the pre-war May First demonstrations.

In the post-war period, in the prosperity days, the American Federation of Labor unions almost completely absented themselves from May First demonstrations. The Socialist Party limited itself to some indoor meetings in the principal cities of the country. It was only the Communist Party which kept high the traditions of May First and called upon and organized the workers for the First of May demonstrations.

* * *

The 1935 May First demonstrations reached proportions never seen in the country before. In New York City 200,000 workers marched under the banner of the united front committee in which the Communists played a leading role and 100,000 in the Socialist parade. In New York City alone 300,000 workers demonstrated on May First! Large demonstrations were held in the important industrial centers of the country. To mention a few of them. In Philadelphia, 40,000 workers demonstrated; in Chicago, 20,000; in Cleveland, 10,000; in Boston, 8,000. In all the important industrial centers of the country May First demonstrations were held. This year's demonstrations distinguished themselves for their high spirit of militancy and enthusiasm.

Wherein lies the great significance of this year's May First demonstrations? What really distinguishes them from all previous demonstrations since the outbreak of the crisis? *It is the participation of large numbers of American Federation of Labor trade unions.* In a number of cities, A. F. of L. unions have participated in united front demonstrations for the first time since the war, and in some cases for the first time

since their existence. To be sure, the leaders of the International Unions, except some of the needle trade unions, have not endorsed any of the May First demonstrations. But most significant is the fact that some quite important central trade and labor councils endorsed and participated in united front May Day demonstrations. Four central A. F. of L. labor bodies of New Jersey—the Essex Trade Council, the Paterson Central Labor Union, the Passaic Labor League, the Labor Council of Elizabeth—endorsed the May First united front demonstrations in which the Communist and Socialist Parties jointly participated in. The effect of the participation of the A. F. of L. bodies and the united front character of these demonstrations is seen in the fact that, for instance, in last year's demonstration in Paterson about a thousand workers marched in the parade and this year, close to 10,000 workers marched; in Newark, 300 marched last year and this year, 15,000 marched! There were a number of other important central A. F. of L. bodies which participated in the May First demonstrations such as the Milwaukee, Danbury, Spokane, Toledo, Erie and indirectly the Cleveland A. F. of L. city organization. The A. F. of L. membership began to recapture the May First traditions that their early fellow trade unions were anxious to preserve as a symbol of struggle and working class solidarity!

The participation of the A. F. of L. unions, as well as this year's size and militancy of the May First demonstrations is due to the active united front policy applied by the Communist Party in the unions and with the Socialist Party.

Before we deal with the steps and measures taken by the Party to develop May First united front actions, it is worth while to stop and consider very briefly the objective background against which the May First demonstrations took place. The year between May First 1934 and May 1935 was a year of the growing great awakening of the American working class. It was in this year that the Toledo, Milwaukee, the San Francisco general strike and the general textile strike took place. So great was the upsurge, desire and readiness for organization and struggle among the workers that in the year of 1934, 4,484 new unions were formed (official A. F. of L. figures). It was a year in which large sections of the workers could through their own experiences learn to know the meaning and effects of the Roosevelt New Deal promises. It was a year not only of the growth of the A. F. of L. unions but of the greatest stirring of the membership of the A. F. of L. unions since the post-war days. There were no great strike battles on the eve of this May Day. But the great ferment was there. Of significance is the new movement for a Labor Party developed in the last year.

In the first days of the month of May there began to develop a series of auto strikes, the Canton, Ohio steel strikes with the renewed threats of coal and textile strikes. The bourgeoisie were rallying their forces against the workers. The manufacturers' association, the Chamber of Commerce, were demanding less demagogy and more direct attacks on the standard of living of the workers, more repressive measures against the workers. The Hearst campaign was developing in full swing. The Supreme Court decisions against the N.R.A. heralding more attacks on the standard of living of the masses, was already in the air.

What fact, what expression can be cited, that will clearly reveal the sentiments and moods of the workers on the eve of the May First

demonstrations? Perhaps, it is Mr. Green's attitude on the question of general strike. Green's attitude towards general strikes is well known. Did he not in the most emphatic strike breaking terms denounce the heroic San Francisco general strike of July 1934 as being in violation of the constitution of the A. F. of L. And only less than a year he "changed" his position. On May 23, before a crowded Madison Square Garden mass meeting Green declared:

> "We will refuse to work and mobilize our entire economic strength until we get our rights. That is no idle statement. I mean just what I say."

And the capitalist press adds: ". . . as the vast crowd roared approval". Mr. Green, as the head of the A. F. of L. senses, devines and "suspects" the true moods of the masses. Such have been the developments for the short period of one year.

It is against this favorable background, a year in which the American masses have experienced a great deal, where the determination to struggle against hunger and the growth of reaction and fascism has steadily been growing, that the Party has energetically applied the policy of the united front.

* * *

From the very outset in its May First preparations the Communist Party centered the attention of its local organizations on involving the A. F. of L. unions in the various May First united front conferences. In the beginning of the month of April the Central Committee of the Communist Party addressed a letter to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., to all trade unionists, to all workers organized and unorganized. In this call the C.C. states:

> "May First should be used to unite labor in every city and town into a mighty united front demonstration for higher wages, social insurance, for the unionization of every industry and town, for the fight for civil rights, and against war and fascism. The Central Committee of the Communist Party has instructed all its organizations and members to do everything possible to bring about such a mighty united May Day demonstration. The Communist Party urges the A. F. of L. Council to sense finally the danger to the labor movement, draw the lessons from the German labor movement's experience, at the same time recognize the militant spirit of the workers and take action along these lines, and to encourage the militant trend of the labor movement. But such a step, such a fight which the workers must organize will not be stopped even if it continues to meet the opposition and sabotage of the A. F. of L. Council. The workers in the local unions and factories, in all industries, must organize the fight and will organize the fight."

On the basis of the demands outlined in the C.C. call the local Party organizations mobilized their forces to involve the A. F. of L. unions in the May First demonstrations. In addition to the general slogans contained in the C.C. statement local demands were raised which helped to mobilize the workers in the various localities. It is significant to note

that the A. F. of L. unions present at the united front conferences raised the slogan for the 30-hour week which became one of the main demands in some of the demonstrations. The sentiment for struggle against fascism has been strongly manifested by the A. F. of L. locals at the various united front May First conferences. The San Francisco A. F. of L. Convention held last October already registered the growing desire of the A. F. of L. membership to fight the menace of fascism. The rank and file senses and fears the growth of reaction and fascism in the U.S. The May First conferences and demonstrations have emphasized this fact.

In the Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Detroit and Toledo city organizations of the A. F. of L., a struggle took place between the rank and file delegates and the heads of the city organizations on the question of the united front May First demonstrations. In Cleveland the leadership of the A. F. of L. city organization only by a small margin defeated the motion to participate in the May First united front conferences and demonstration. The demand, however, for May First action was so great, that the Cleveland leadership of the A. F. of L. felt compelled to decide to hold a mass meeting on May 5. It was the policy of the C.P. to participate in the May 5th demonstration as well. In Toledo, where the Central Trades and Labor Council did participate jointly with the S.P. and Musteites in the May First demonstrations, the Communist Party and the Unemployment Councils were excluded from the joint arrangements of the demonstration. The Party and Unemployment Councils participated, however, in the May First demonstrations organized by the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party.

The C.P. on several occasions has appealed to the National Committee of the Socialist Party to organize joint united front May First demonstrations. The national leadership refused to accept the proposal of the C.P. It could not, however, in view of the strong united front sentiments of the locals, prohibit local demonstrations and even in "principle" endorsed the desire for united front actions on May First. The position of the S.P. leadership was expressed as follows in Norman Thomas' letter to Comrade Browder:

> "Under the rule of procedure the question of any kind of united demonstration on May First must be taken up in the locality, which locality must get approval for any united demonstration from the state committee of the Party. I am sure that the N.E.C. of the Party will adhere to this reasonable scheme. We are interested in getting the widest possible united front on May Day with labor, to which effort some of Communist tactics have added unnecessary difficulties."

It is clear from Thomas' letter that the N.E.C. leadership of the S.P. did not only aid but in most cases hindered the development of the united front in the localities. Certainly Thomas did not help. Though it should be mentioned that Hapgood, member of the National Committee of the S.P. and L. Krzycki, its national chairman, have helped in the development of local united front demonstrations.

The local organizations of the C.P. were very active in developing

May First actions with the locals of the S.P. In a number of important industrial centers there took place May First demonstrations jointly organized by the C.P. and S.P. An incomplete list shows that such demonstrations were held in the following cities: Cleveland, Ohio; Camden, Paterson, Newark, Passaic, in the state of New Jersey; in Tacoma and Spokane in the state of Washington; Indiana Harbor, Indiana; Danbury, Connecticut; Lynn, Springfield, Holyoke and Boston in the state of Massachusetts; Easton, Allentown and Bethlehem in the state of Pennsylvania; in the industrial suburbs of Birmingham, Alabama; Chattanoga, Tennessee; in Des Moines, Iowa.

At no time since united front actions have begun to develop between the C.P. and S.P. have so many city local organizations of the S.P. participated in a united front with the Communists as in the May First 1935 demonstrations. The united front May First preparatory actions in which the C.P. and the S.P. organizations have participated helped a great deal in involving the A. F. of L. unions in the May First demonstrations. Some of the S.P. controlled unemployed organizations were quite active in establishing united front actions between the S.P. and C.P. organizations.

The C.P. made special appeals to the S.P. national leadership to help in organizing one May First demonstration in New York City, where the Socialist Party is in the control of the "Old Guard" reactionaries. The national leadership, however, who claims to fight the "Old Guard" has refused to heed the appeal of the C.P. The united front activities of the C.P. made a dent in the New York S.P. organization. A number of the Socialist youth organizations and the Workmen's Circle have supported the united front proposals of the Communist Party.

The Lovestone and Trotsky renegades have appeared as the most active opponents of May First united front actions. In New York City they were put forward by the "Old Guard" reactionaries of the S.P. to fight the united front proposals of the C.P. They have played the same role in Detroit and Chicago.

The extent to which the desire for united front actions is growing among the S.P. membership is testified by the statements of the two members of the National Committee who participated in united front May First actions. Powers Hapgood speaking at the Western Massachusetts Confederation of Socialist Locals (which voted to accept the proposal of the Communist Party for a united front May Day) made the following statement:

> "If the Socialist Party wants a united front with the labor unions, the Communist Party must be included."

This is a most significant statement and admission. What has been one of the most "decisive" argument and reason which the present "militant" leadership of the Socialist Party had advanced? It was the famous argument of the "Old Guard" reactionaries of the S.P. that the "splitting" trade union activities of the Communist Party make it impossible to develop and establish united front actions. The line and

activities of the C.P. in the trade unions has been the greatest force in developing the fight for unity and militancy in the trade unions. Large sections of the A. F. of L. membership are beginning to recognize it. The S.P. rank and file knows it. And the recent statement of Comrade Hapgood can only be welcomed and the fervent hope expressed that Comrade Hapgood will be active in helping to establish the united front of the Communists and the Socialists in the trade unions which the Central Committee of the C.P. has been persistently proposing to the National Committee of the S.P. Comrade Hapgood should bear in mind that in Toledo, Milwaukee, Erie, not to mention New York City, where the A. F. of L. organizations have endorsed the May First demonstrations, it was the local S.P. organizations and in Milwaukee Mayor Hoan, a member of the National Committee of the S.P. that were largely responsible for the fact that there were no broad united front demonstrations.

Quite significant also was the statement made by Leo Krzycki, national chairman of the Socialist Party, at the Cleveland united front May First meeting. He said:

> "The day is not far off when workers marching under different signs will form a united front, not only on May Day, but in every struggle of the working class."

Here, too, the national chairman of the S.P. reflects the desire of the rank and file of the S.P. Krzycki participated in the Cleveland May First united front demonstration. He expresses the hope of united front actions in the future. The present situation with the new wave of wage-cuts and growth of fascism in the United States demands united front actions in many fields of working class struggle and activity. Certainly, in his position as the chairman of his party, Leo Krzycki, can further the development of the united front and help to break the present stubborn position of the S.P. leadership against the united front. One can only welcome the words and position of Krzycki. And more united front deeds in the near future will, of course, speak louder than words.

* * *

May First 1935 will undoubtedly mark an important point in the development of class consciousness of the American working class. It did not only reflect the growing desire for struggle, but the May First demonstration was a great mobilization for the immediate struggles and the great maturing battles in the United States. It was the united front character of the demonstrations, it was the participation, for the first time in many years, of large numbers of the A. F. of L. unions, which add special significance to the 1935 May First demonstrations.

The A. F. of L. misleaders of labor, the bourgeoisie, prided themselves upon the fact that American labor is so "national" and immune from international influence and international class solidarity. Labor Day was to replace May Day. But the sharpening of the class struggle, of the class relations at home, the growth of the menace of fascism and war, makes the American working class more and more internationally minded. The American working class which gave to the world proletariat the First of May, and that has for a period relapsed, is coming back and is beginning once more to distinguish itself with its mighty and enthusiastic May First Demonstration.

A Useful Pamphlet

By K. BUZHINSKY

ALL sincere supporters of the united front will welcome the publication—in a special pamphlet—of documents and material concerning negotiations between the Third and Second Internationals on the question of joint action in defense of the Spanish proletariat. The fact that in a short space of time this pamphlet has been published on a mass scale in three of the most important European languages (German, French and English), is proof of the enormous interest displayed toward the question of the united front by broad masses of the workers among whom the desire for the united front of struggle on an international scale against fascism, against the menace of war, against the offensive of capital, is ever growing.

The following documents and material have been published in the pamphlet: stenographic report of the negotiations between the delegates of the Third International (Comrades Cachin and Thorez) and representatives of the Second International (E. Vandervelde and F. Adler) in Brussels on October 15, 1934; resolution of the Executive Committee of the Second International (Paris, November, 1934) in reply to the manifesto of the Comintern concerning joint action on an international scale in defense of the Spaish workers; declaration of the so-called minority of the Executive Committee of the Second International on the same question. Finally, the pamphlet contains the leading article of the *Communist International* (No. 35): "For the United Front of Struggle of the International Proletariat". In this artcile, not only are the filmsy arguments, the false reasoning of the Second International against the united front of the international proletariat exposed, but the real reasons for the refusal of the Second International to accept the proposal of the Comintern, the causes of the crisis and downfall of the Second International, are revealed, a criticism is given of the position of the so-called minority of the Executive Committee of the Second International, and an outline given of the tasks of further struggle of the Communist Parties on behalf of the united front of the international proletariat.

The minutes of the negotiations and the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Second International are clear proof of the fact that the Second International has not only completely rejected the concrete, practical Comintern proposals, both comprehensible and acceptable to the broad masses of the workers, for joint extending of immediate assistance to the fighting proletariat of Spain, but has refused, on purely formal grounds, to adopt the most elementary joint action as a mark of solidarity with the Spanish workers. More than this, the delegation of the Second International refused to entertain the proposal of the Comintern delegation that joint action should be taken by repre-

sentatives of the Second International and representatives of the Comintern at at least one mass meeting in France.

The material and documents published are of great political importance today. Indeed, the opponents of the united front from the Executive Committee of the Second International quite recently rejected the new proposal of the Comintern for joint action on May Day 1935, and moreover in this connection referred to the resolution of the November plenary session of their Executive Committee, published in the pamphlet under review.

Unable to prohibit the united front in places where it has already been realized, the Executive Committee of the Second International is now, as before, doing its utmost to prevent the realization of the united front on an international scale.

Here again, as was the case during the negotiations in Brussels, the leaders of the Second International put forward as the basic argument against the united front of the international proletariat, that the situation in different parties affiliated to the Second International is different in accordance with the concrete situation in each country. Moreover, they refer to the position of the Social-Democratic parties of the Scandinavian countries, to the Social-Democracy of Holland and to the English Labor Party. Thus they confirm the fact that the most arrant opponents of the united front are the leaders of those Social-Democratic Parties which are pursuing a policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie in the form of participation in bourgeois governments or in preparation for participation in them. This is yet another proof of the fact that *the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie has always been and remains the real reason why the Second International rejects the united front.* In order to camouflage this fact, Vandervelde and Adler, during the course of the negotiations (pages 11-12 of the pamphlet), pointed out that a united front was impossible in these countries in view of the extremely small numerical composition of the Communist Party. But F. Adler knows full well that there was a time when Austrian Social-Democracy, on the same pretext (the small numerical composition of the Communist Party of Austria) rejected the united front with the Communists; now tens and thousands of Austrian workers have been convinced by their own experiences that this policy of Austrian Social-Democracy has paved the way for the victory of fascism. It is not surprising that the proletarians of Austria have turned to Communism and that the small Communist Party of Austria has now become the mass party of the Austrian proletariat; the relation of forces in the working class movement of Austria has radically changed in favor of the Communist Party. F. Adler and his friends should not forget this, for something of the kind may soon occur with other Social-Democratic Parties which brag so much about their big numbers.

E. Vandervelde, who is not against speaking in favor of "collaboration between the Western European proletariat and the Russian revolution" (page 21 of the pamphlet), also considers the united front impossible on an international scale, in view of the fact that in Eng-

land, for example, the Communist Party is very small as compared with the Labor Party. But he also should not forget that in the composition of the Communist International, in addition to several mass parties in capitalist countries, there is also the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leading section of the Comintern. It is quite clear that there can be no comparison at all between the numbers of the Labor Party, of whose greatness the leaders of the Second International boast so much, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which led the proletariat of Russia into the victorious socialist revolution, which is at the head of proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R., and under whose leadership millions of toilers of the Soviet Union are victoriously building socialism on one-sixth of the earth's surface.

In spite of the refusal of the Second International to enter into a united front, not only did joint action take place on May 1, 1935, but *the demonstrations were much broader, of a much more mass, militant character, than the year before.* The May Day united front demonstrations this year are proof of the growing fighting spirit of the proletariat, *of the growing determination* shown by the workers to fight in a united front against the menace of war, *against fascism and the offensive of capital.* The majority of the Executive Committee of the Second International did their utmost to prevent the creation of a united front on an international scale. But the so-called minority of the Executive Committee, who, in words, were in favor of the united front, in actual deeds does not want to do anything to bring about joint action on an international scale. But despite all these obstacles, the united front of struggle is spreading throughout the world, both in the countries of bourgeois democracy and in the countries of open fascist dictatorship. Even in fascist Poland, where the Communist Party was driven underground at its very birth, and the Social-Democratic Party is to this day legal, *the Communist Party of Poland has achieved considerable success in developing a broad united front.*

In France, in fascist Austria, and in Latvia, where agreements have been concluded between the Communists and the Socialist Parties, the united front is developing both extensively and intensively. True, even here some of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party like Frossard, renegades from Communism like Doriot, and counter-revolutionary Trotskyists, are working by the sweat of their brows to fabricate "reasons and arguments" for smashing the united front agreement. But even those of the leaders of Social-Democracy in France who would not be against using the services of the Frossards, Doriots, and Co., are now unable to prevent the victorious, progressive development of the united front.

The last municipal elections in France are a new, brilliant victory of the united front. Both in France and in other countries, this victory will still further increase the desire for the united front. Particularly among the Social-Democratic workers—in spite of all disciplinary penalties and prohibitions of the leaders of the Second International—the desire is growing to go into the struggle shoulder to shoulder with the Communists, throwing aside, into the wastepaper basket of history, all

the Frossards, the Doriots and Co. More than this. The success of the broad united front in capitalist countries, and first and foremost the brilliant world historic victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R., the tremendous popularity enjoyed by the peaceful policy of the U.S.S.R., is firmly establishing the conviction among the masses that *there can be no place inside the united front for enemies of the U.S.S.R.*—the bulwork of revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against war, against the offensive of capital, against fascism.

The documents and material published in the pamphlet will help supporters of the united front to develop still more widely the struggle for its realization in all countries, will help to expose the overt and covert enemies of the united front.

It is necessary to continue and extend this good beginning—the publication of documents and material on the united front in the form of mass pamphlets. And above all, Communists and supporters of the united front should, at the earliest possible date, arrange for the publication of this pamphlet in the Spanish language and see that it is widely spread among the toilers of Spain: for this pamphlet is devoted to the struggle for the united front of the international proletariat in defense of the Spanish revolution. It would be advisable to publish in an analagous pamphlet all the correspondence between the Profintern and the Amsterdam Trade Union International on unity in the trade union movement. It is essential to begin to publish documents and material on the united front according to individual countries, and first and foremost about those countries where agreement has been arrived at between the Communist and Socialist Parties (France, Austria, Spain, Latvia, Italy, etc.). In reply to the slanderous attacks of the opponents of the united front upon the Communist Party of Germany, which is fighting heroically in the difficult circumstances of fascist underground work, it is essential that the constant appeals of the Communist Party of Germany to the German Social-Democratic Party on the united front both before and after the victory of Hitler fascism, be published in full. It would also be extremely opportune to publish a special pamphlet containing all the documents on the struggle of the Communist International, under the guidance of Comrades Lenin and Stalin, on behalf of the united front of struggle of the proletariat.

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